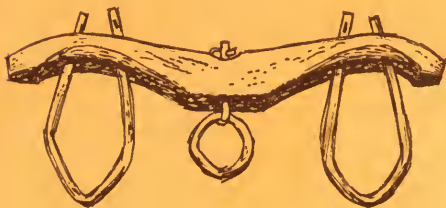


ABRAHAM LINCOLN



J. ALFRED SHARP

LINCOLN ROOM



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

from

CARL SANDBURG'S LIBRARY

~~17th Dec 1891~~

~~with best wishes to~~

~~all~~

~~17th Dec~~

J. Norton



ABRAHAM LINCOLN







From a Brady Photograph.

Abraham Lincoln.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY

J. ALFRED SHARP

LONDON

THE EPWORTH PRESS

25-35 CITY ROAD, AND 26 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

First Edition, 1919.

973.7263 Lincoln Room
BSk2a

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	7
II. PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE	15
III. LAWYER AND POLITICIAN	33
IV. HOME LIFE AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION	45
V. TEMPERANCE REFORMER	59
VI. SLAVERY	71
VII. THE MAN OF DESTINY	83
VIII. THE ORATORY OF LINCOLN	97
IX. PRESIDENT—SECESSION—CIVIL WAR	111
X. DARK DAYS	125
XI. EMANCIPATION	139
XII. THE TURN OF THE TIDE	155
XIII. VICTORY	171
XIV. MARTYRDOM	191

For.



I

INTRODUCTORY

The name of Abraham Lincoln will be cherished as long as we have a history, as one of the wisest, purest, and noblest magistrates, as one of the greatest benefactors to the human race that have ever lived.

J. LOTHROP MOTLEY.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE assertion that history is 'rarely more than the biography of great men' would not be likely to win universal acceptance in these times. We have come to see that an adequate study of any period of history necessitates a keen realization of many factors which deal with the economic, moral, and religious life of the community. The life-conditions of the people of any country are much more important than facts connected with the lives of Emperors, Kings, and Presidents, and it often happens that these conditions cannot be summed up in the lives of those who occupy the seats of the mighty. Certain it is that the close study of history demands much more than knowledge of the lives of great men. At the same time it must ever be remembered that the lives of the really great do form an important element in the period in which they lived. They ought not, therefore, to be treated with indifference. Their careful study may give us the clue to certain events which but for them might elude us.

It will hardly be questioned that in every great national crisis there arise those who embody, to a certain extent, the forces working in the lives of the people. This is a truism hardly needing illustration. In the lives of Mirabeau and Napoleon I there were embodied some of the seething forces which found expression in that vast national upheaval the French Revolution. In the lives of Cavour, Mazzini, and Garibaldi we have presented to us the dramatic story of Italian unification. And in the life of Abraham Lincoln there will pass before us the most tragic chapter in America's history.

Many things make it extremely difficult to estimate aright the most remarkable man America has ever produced. It must be borne in mind that he *was* an American, and that he represented a type of American life of which an Englishman can scarcely conceive. Abraham Lincoln was in many respects a typical representative of the free and unconventional life of the West; but his character was so many-sided that, while typical of the West, he won his most ardent admirers among the cultured citizens of the Eastern States. In fact there was in his character an elusiveness which defied analysis. Even his own countrymen failed to take the true stature of the man during his life-

time. How difficult, then, it must be for any one accustomed to English modes of thought properly to appraise and appreciate him ! But Lincoln was more than a typical American, he was pre-eminently a man. His life forms a common heritage of humanity. It cannot be localized ; it cannot even be nationalized. It stands forth in its massive greatness compelling the admiration of all, whether they belong to the same or to an alien nationality.

It is just here that another difficulty presents itself. The very greatness of his life makes it difficult rightly to estimate it. It is no exaggeration to assert that Lincoln was incomparably the greatest man of his time. M. Laboulaye did not greatly exaggerate when, speaking in Paris, he said : ' Mr. Lincoln was a greater man than Caesar.' In his own country and shortly before his death Russell Lowell gave at a mass meeting his considered estimate of Lincoln's place in history and his relation to democracy : ' I think it safe to say that no other country, or no other form of government, could have fashioned him whom posterity has come to recognize as the most bravely human of our modern times. It is a benediction to have lived in the same age and in the same land as Abraham Lincoln. Had democracy alone borne this consummate flower and then

perished like the century plant, it would have discharged its noblest functions.'

But though these things make it difficult rightly to appraise the life and work of Lincoln, there is on the other hand one fact which helps all who desire to form clear and sane views in regard to him. We have not to estimate his life while the voices of hostile faction and criticism are heard. More than half a century has passed since the sharp crack of the pistol told that the assassin's bullet had sped on its way. The voices of faction and criticism are now silent. To-day both North and South combine in paying homage to him whose grit and courage preserved intact the union of the States and thus saved the great Republic of the West. The mists which at one time gathered so densely around his life have now been dispersed. In all its massive strength and weird beauty that life now stands clear before us. We see him as the 'emancipator of a whole race; the mighty councillor whose patient courage and wisdom saved the life of the Republic in its darkest hour. Above all, illumining his proud eminence as an orator, statesman, and ruler, there shines around his memory the halo of that tender humanity and Christian charity in which he walked among his fellow countrymen as their familiar companion and friend.'

If it be true that no man can really be called great who does not leave behind him some enduring monument of his greatness, then Lincoln need not fear comparison with any, either in ancient or modern history.

The American nation is a constant testimony of the vastness of Lincoln's achievement. Recent events have shown us the important part the American people will play in the world's life. If, however, in the 'sixties' the Union had been dissolved, and the right of the Confederate States to secede had been granted, the America which we know to-day would not have been in being. No one can question that, if the right to secede had been granted to Jefferson Davis and those associated with him, the same right would also have been claimed on other grounds by other States. Causes would probably have arisen which would have led the West also to secede. The doctrine of State sovereignty might have moved many of them to set up separate governments of their own, and so, on the continent of North America there might have been repeated the position which obtains on the continent of Europe. National rivalries would speedily have come into existence. Militarism would have held sway among them, and all the causes of the great and tragic war precipitated by the over-weening ambition of the

German Empire would potentially have existed in America. To one man, and to one man alone, must be attributed the credit of saving his country from such a cleavage and disaster. Not only America, but the whole world is realizing this to-day as it was never realized before. And it is because this is so that the world is found paying its homage to him whose life-story has now to be recorded.

II

PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

From the union of the Colonists, Puritans, and Cavaliers, from the strengthening of their purposes and the crossing of their blood, came he who stands as the first typical American, the first to comprehend within himself all the strength and greatness, all the majesty and grace of this Republic, Abraham Lincoln. He was the son of Puritan and Cavalier, for in his ardent nature were fused the virtues of both, and in the depths of his great soul the faults of both were lost.

HENRY W. GRADY.

CHAPTER II

PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

THE ancestry of President Lincoln is somewhat obscure and uncertain. It is most probable, however, that his family sprang from one Samuel Lincoln, a native of Norwich, who in 1638 left the land of his birth to settle in the New World.

We have no record stating the cause which led him to take this step; but if we bear in mind the date when he left England, the part of America to which he went, Massachusetts, and the fact that his English home was in East Anglia, it is reasonable to presume that he belonged to those who in obedience to the voice of conscience turned from the land they loved to settle in the New World, where they might worship the Eternal according to the dictates of their own conscience.

There was a deep vein of Puritanism running right through the life of Lincoln, and probably it came from him who helped to form that little band whose advent in

18 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

America brought so valuable an element to the new life of that colony.

But whether this be so or not, one thing is certain, that Lincoln's ancestors were 'poor whites' living in Virginia. In 1780 the grandfather of the great President, lured by the stories of the remarkable fertility of the soil in Kentucky, removed thither for his permanent abode. He had five children at the time, three sons and two daughters, and Thomas, the father of Abraham Lincoln, was the youngest child but one.

We cannot realize life as it existed then in the far West. The tide of civilization from the Eastern States had steadily spread south-west, with the inevitable result that the Indians had been pressed farther and farther back.

One hundred years earlier Massachusetts and other Eastern States formed the point of contact with the redskins.

In 1780 precisely the same condition obtained in States like Kentucky. The Indians were deadly enemies to the pale-faced strangers. Daniel Boone, the mighty hunter of Kentucky, to whom the Lincolns were related by marriage, was making the Eastern States ring with his fame. The pioneer's constant companion was his gun, with which he defended himself against his

PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE 19

savage foes. Into this hard, rough life the Lincoln family entered and settled.

Four years passed away, and then the shadow of a great sorrow fell upon that home. One day, while the head of the household was working on his little forest clearing, the sharp crack of a rifle was heard, and the hardy pioneer fell dead. Fortunately help came before the homestead was burnt and the bairns murdered. It must have been a dark day for that pioneer home. When the lifeless form of their strong protector was borne into the lonely cabin, it made it desolate indeed. A home in the forest was hardship enough, but that fatal shot of the savage multiplied hardship a hundredfold. The head of the family being gone, the widow removed to a more thickly populated neighbourhood. There her children grew into womanhood and manhood.

Lincoln's father was apprenticed to the trade of a carpenter, but never became very proficient in his business. So far as can be gathered, he was a typical backwoodsman of the period, not shirking work, but of a thriftless, restless spirit which prevented him from settling down in one neighbourhood. The call of the forest came to him again and again, and so we shall find him making new beginnings in various States.

20 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

On June 12, 1806, he married Nancy Hanks, the niece of his employer, and if Tennyson's dictum be true that 'the mother makes us most,' it is important that we should know something of the mother of the great President. Dr. Holland says, 'She was a slender, pale, sad, sensitive woman, with much in her nature that was truly heroic, and much that shrank from the rude life around her.' Lamon tells us that 'by her family her understanding was considered something wonderful.'

It is evident that she was a brave, sensible, God-fearing woman, and that she exerted a great influence upon the mind of her remarkable boy. Lincoln's own words make this abundantly clear. In the after years, when he stood as one of the great figures of American life, he said: 'All that I am, or ever hope to be, I owe to my sainted mother.'

It was in Hardin County, Kentucky, on February 12, 1809, that the most remarkable man America has ever produced was born. Few would have thought, as they looked on the child cradled in the dismal solitude of the pioneer cabin, that they were gazing upon one whose life was to occupy the chief place in one of the greatest dramas of modern times; but vast and far-reaching results often spring from little and insignificant

beginnings. In history this is abundantly manifest. Many of the men whose names loom large upon the historic page sprang not from the classes, but the masses. Cromwell, the great Protector, was a country-born brewer. Shakespeare, whose marvellous genius has cast around English literature a halo which can never fade, came from a humble home in the sleepy town on the Avon; Martin Luther from a miner's hut; Benjamin Franklin from a printing-office; George Stephenson from a coal mine; and last, but not least, Abraham Lincoln, twice President of the United States, and saviour of his country, from the despised hut of a pioneer.

Seven years after the birth of his boy, Thomas Lincoln removed into the largely uncultivated State of Indiana. Here pioneer life in its worst and roughest form confronted him, and if we are rightly to understand some of the characteristics of Lincoln we must obtain a clear-cut conception of what that life really was.

The home of the pioneer was a rough cabin made of logs and clay. 'Its furniture consisted of a few three-legged stools, a bedstead made of poles stuck between the logs in the angle of the cabin, the outside corner supported by a crooked stick driven into the ground; the table a huge hewed log standing

22 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

on four legs ; and a pot, kettle, and a few tin and pewter vessels.' Such was the home of the pioneer, and in such a home Lincoln passed his early years.

Among these pioneer families life had assumed a hard, rough, coarse form. Few could read or write ; indeed a man possessing only the elements of education was looked upon as almost a wizard. There they lived, not many degrees higher in the scale of civilization than the Indians whom they had supplanted. The following advertisement taken from the *Kentucky Reporter*, September 5, 1819, reveals something of the life of those days :

' Take notice and beware of the swindler Jesse Dougherty, who married me in November last, and some time after marriage informed me that he had another wife alive, and before I recovered the villain left me and took one of my best horses. One of my neighbours was so good as to follow him and take the horse from him and bring him back. The said Dougherty is about 40 years of age, five feet ten inches high, round shoulders, thick lips, hair and complexion dark, grey eyes, remarkably ugly and ill-natured, and by profession a notorious liar. This is therefore to warn all widows to beware of the swindler, as all he wants is

their money, and he cares not where they go after he gets that. The said Dougherty has a number of wives living, perhaps eight or ten (the number not positively known), and will no doubt if he can get them have eight or ten more. I believe that is the way he makes his living.

(Signed) MARY DODD.

‘Livingstone Co., Kentucky.’

Comic as this advertisement may seem to us to-day, still beneath its comicality we are enabled to see a sad portraiture of settler life. Religion and morals were held with a slack hand. The people were grossly superstitious. A dog crossing the hunter's path spoilt his sport for the day unless he instantly hooked his two little fingers together and pulled vigorously till the animal disappeared. ‘A bird lighting in a window; a dog barking at certain hours; the cough of a horse in the direction of a child; the sight, or worse still, the touch of a dead snake, heralded domestic woe.’ Nor need we wonder, for in our own land we have had superstitions quite as ridiculous, and without the excuse of the simple illiterate backwoodsmen of one hundred years ago.

This picture of pioneer life cannot be closed without referring to the itinerant backwood preachers, who in many cases

24 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

were the only links uniting these families to civilization. As a rule they were men of little learning and culture. Few of them had been to college, some had never been to school. They travelled from place to place on horseback, carrying their entire library in their saddle-bags. They stopped where night overtook them, and often had no bed but mother earth, and no covering save the canopy of heaven.

Dr. Milburn gives us some charming descriptions of these preachers. He tells us of one—a tall, slender, graceful man, with a winning countenance and a kindly eye—to whom a large landowner gave the title-deeds of 320 acres of land. He was extremely poor, and thankfully accepted the gift. At the expiration of three months he returned and begged the gentleman to take back the deeds. Astonished at such a request the rich man asked, ‘Do you think that I repent my gift?’

‘I have no reason to doubt your generosity,’ was the reply.

‘Then why do you prefer such a request?’

‘Well, sir,’ said the preacher, ‘you know I am very fond of singing the old hymns. There is one I love more than all the others, but I have never been able to sing it since I saw you last. A part of it,’ said he, ‘runs thus :

No foot of land do I possess,
 No cottage in this wilderness,
 A poor wayfaring man,
 I lodge awhile in tents below;
 Or gladly wander to and fro
 Till I my Canaan gain.

There is my house and portion fair,
 My treasure and my heart are there,
 And my abiding home.

Take your title-deeds,' he added. 'I would rather sing that hymn with a clear conscience than own America.'

Another of these men is described by the same writer, who himself began life as a backwood preacher: 'He was more scholarly than most of the preachers around him, and often sat up half the night at the cabins of the hunters where he stopped, to study. Many a time was the bare bleak mountain-side his bed, the wolves yelling a horrid chorus in his ears. Sometimes he was fortunate enough to find a hollow log within whose cavity he inserted his body, and found it a good protection from the rain or frost.

'Once seated at dinner with a hunter's family, the party was startled by affrighted screams from the door yard. Rushing out they beheld a great wild cat bearing off the youngest child. Seizing a rifle from the

26 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

pegs over the door, the preacher raised it to his shoulders, cast a rapid glance along the barrel, and delivered his fire. The aim was unerring, but too late; the child was dead, already destroyed by the fierce animal. That same year he had a hand-to-hand fight with a bear, from which conflict he came forth victor just as he was about to be enfolded in the fatal hug. Often he emerged from the wintry stream, his garments glittering in the clear cold sunlight as if they had been of burnished steel armour, chill as the touch of death. During that twelvemonth, in the midst of such scenes he travelled on foot and on horseback 4,000 miles, preached 400 times, and found on casting up the receipts—yarn socks, woollen vests, cotton shirts, and a little silver change—that his salary amounted to twelve dollars and two cents. Yet he persevered, grew in knowledge and influence, became a doctor of divinity, and finally was made President of a University.'

Such were the pioneer preachers of the West: men of practical mind, simple-hearted piety, lofty faith, fiery zeal, and unwavering fortitude. Need we wonder that such men wrought a glorious work for God, and humanity?

Among those people, and in all essential respects one of them, Lincoln passed his

early life. He was only nine years of age when his much-loved mother passed into the presence of God. His life before had been sad, but this blow made it infinitely sadder. It is impossible to conceive of a worse position than that of a boy of fine promise in the midst of such a life, without a mother's hand to guide and without a mother's love to shield and bless him.

It is fascinating to note his struggles to obtain knowledge during these years. A copy of the Bible, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, Weems' *Life of Washington*, a history of the United States, and *Robinson Crusoe* were the only books he possessed. In imagination we may gaze upon him as he sits by the log fire reading Bunyan's immortal work and that still greater book the Bible. If it be true that 'the child is father to the man,' do we not see in the lad sitting in the dim light of the log fire reading the book of God the foundation of that strict integrity which caused him in the after years to be known as 'honest Abe'?

He learned to write by taking the charred embers from the fire and operating on the ends of chopped logs. So far as his attendance at any school was concerned, it was of the most meagre character. The time he spent at school both in Kentucky and Indiana did not amount to a year.

28 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

One day he went to a boy friend and asked him what the meaning of 'demonstrate' was. The boy replied that he did not know, but he had seen the word in a book called Euclid. Lincoln with great difficulty obtained a copy of the books of Euclid, committed the whole to memory, and afterwards said that he thought he had some conception of what 'demonstrate' meant. There can be little doubt that in after years his acquaintance with the methods of Euclid stood him in good stead. It is not difficult to trace this knowledge in the great speeches which he delivered when he became one of the central figures of American life.

It must of course be understood that no claim to saintship is made for the boy. He had enough wickedness in him to prove his humanity. His fondness for reading often led him to neglect his work. Dennis Hanks says: 'Abe was lazy, very lazy. He was always reading, scribbling, cyphering, and such like.' John Romine gives similar testimony: 'Abe was awful lazy. He worked for me, was always reading and thinking. I used to get mad at him. He worked for me pulling fodder. I say Abe was awful lazy. He would laugh and talk, and crack jokes all the time. He did not love work, but did dearly his pay.'

He said to me one day that his father taught him to work, but never taught him to love it.'

From these testimonies it may be seen that as a boy he possessed that marvellous power of story-telling that was afterwards so marked a characteristic of his life. A friend of the writer had an interview with President Lincoln during the dark days of 1862. He had scarcely been in his presence a few moments before he began telling a story of Daniel Webster.

When Webster was a lad at school he was one day playing with the inkstand, and in the play it was overturned. Boy-like, he tried to clear it up with his hands, but at that moment the schoolmaster entered the room. Webster strove, at the expense of his clothes, to cleanse one of his hands, but the other, uncleansed, he shot behind his back. The schoolmaster, however, had realized what had taken place, and going towards him, took Webster and led him out before the boys. Lifting the partially cleansed hand, he said: 'Boys, I am going to give Dan Webster a good thrashing, and I am going to enjoy it. There is only one way in which little Dan can escape the thrashing, and that is, if any boy has a dirtier hand than this then he shall escape the punishment.' With lightning-like rapidity

30 PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE

the boy brought the absolutely uncleansed hand from behind his back, held it up before the schoolmaster, and escaped the punishment.

Right through life Lincoln was an inveterate story-teller. Truth came to him in a humorous garb. At the time of the Civil War many of the English papers described him as a huge joke-cracking buffoon. We know to-day that they were absolutely wrong in their estimate. We have come to see that Lincoln's power to realize the humorous side of things was a rare gift, a gift without which he could not have borne the burdens which pressed upon him in the after years. But these testimonies also reveal to us that Lincoln early felt the movings of the poetic spirit. His attempts at poetry were most amusing. At his sister's marriage a poem of his, entitled 'Adam and Eve's Wedding Song,' was sung with the greatest *éclat*. Here are two of the verses :

The Lord was not willing
That man should be alone,
But caused a sleep upon him
And took from him a bone.

The woman was not taken
From Adam's feet, we see.
So we must not abuse her,
The meaning seems to be.

Perhaps the best poem he ever wrote was a couplet found in an old copy-book :

Abraham Lincoln, his hand and pen,
He will be good, but God knows when.

These quotations demonstrate that the world's loss through his not entering upon the career of a poet was not very great.

A peaceful life ;—just toil and rest—
All his desire ;
To read the books he liked the best
Beside the cabin fire—
God's word and man's ;—to peer sometimes
Above the page, in smouldering gleams,
And catch, like far heroic rhymes,
The onmarch of his dreams.

A peaceful life ;—to hear the low
Of pastured herds,
Or woodman's axe that, blow on blow,
Fell sweet as rhythmic words.
And yet there stirred within his breast
A fateful pulse that, like a roll
Of drums, made high above his rest
A tumult in his soul.

A peaceful life ! . . . They hailed him even
As One was hailed
Whose open palms were nailed toward heaven
When prayers nor aught availed.
And, lo, he paid the selfsame price
To lull a nation's awful strife
And will us, through the sacrifice
Of self, his peaceful life.

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY.

III
LAWYER AND POLITICIAN

He was argumentative in the best sense, with a passion for what the Greeks sometimes called 'dialectic'; his rare capacity for solitary thought, the most marked and greatest of his powers, went absolutely hand in hand with the desire to reduce his thoughts to a form which would carry logical conviction to others.

LORD CHARNWOOD.

CHAPTER III

LAWYER AND POLITICIAN

IN the year 1830, when Lincoln was about twenty, he migrated once more with his father to Decatur in the State of Illinois. Here he helped to build the inevitable log hut, performing with a single assistant the feat of splitting 3,000 rails in a day, thus earning for himself the soubriquet of the 'rail-splitter.' Early in the year 1831 he became acquainted with an adventurous merchant named Denton Offutt, with whom he made a voyage to New Orleans. He had once before taken a similar journey, but it was in connexion with this voyage with Denton Offutt that his mind was first seriously turned towards the subject of slavery. His whole being was deeply stirred as he saw the working of the slave trade in all its naked brutality. Sentiments which before had been vaguely working in his mind began to take shape and form. It was the first step in a path which ultimately led to the emancipation of a whole race. John Hanks says: 'The negroes were chained,

maltreated, whipped and scourged. Lincoln saw it, his heart bled, said nothing much, was silent, looked bad. I can say, knowing it, that it was on this trip that he formed his opinions on slavery. It ran its iron in him then and there in May, 1831.'

We are told that one morning he attended a slave auction in New Orleans, and as he witnessed the scenes of misery and cruelty his heart rose in revolt against the system. Turning to those who were with him he said, 'By God, boys, let us get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit that thing I will hit it hard.'

It was in the August of this same year that he finally left his father's home to carve out his own future. He settled as clerk to Denton Offutt at New Salem. 'The long-legged young giant,' as people called him, soon became a general favourite.

Near to New Salem a number of young men had formed a settlement on the borders of the forest. They were known as the Clary Grove boys. Good at heart, though rough and elemental in ways, the only thing they recognized and admired was brute strength. Denton Offutt was proud of his clerk, and in a boasting spirit declared that he could put on his back any man in the county. This challenge was immediately taken up, and a wrestling-match was arranged

between Lincoln and one of the boys named Jack Armstrong. When the two antagonists met it was quickly seen that the champion of Clary Grove was no match for the sturdy Kentuckian. In order to help Armstrong his friends nearly succeeded in tripping Lincoln, which so aroused his anger that he lifted Armstrong off his feet and sent him whirling to the ground. As soon as Armstrong could gain his breath he shouted, 'Abe Lincoln is the best fellow that ever broke into this settlement. He shall be one of us.' From that moment the Clary Grove boys became his staunch friends. Many years after he was able to save Armstrong's son when he stood in the court charged with a capital offence.

There is no need to dwell upon the next few years of his life. As storekeeper, postmaster, and surveyor, he manifested those traits of integrity and honesty which make his life so attractive.

When the Indian chief Black Hawk broke the treaty into which he had entered and led his followers into Northern Illinois, Lincoln responded to the call for volunteers. He was elected captain of his company, but saw no fighting. Some years afterwards, when the supporters of General Cass wished to attach to their candidate for the Presidency some military glory, Lincoln, in a

rollicking and humorous manner, made reference to this experience. 'Do you know, Mr. Speaker,' he said, 'I am a military hero? In the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled, and came away. It is quite certain that I did not break my sword, for I had none to break, but I bent my musket pretty badly on one occasion. I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes, and although I never fainted from the loss of blood I can truly say that I was often hungry.' This rollicking humour turned the tables upon the Democrats and helped to defeat the candidature of the redoubtable General Cass, who had never had any real military experience.

For some considerable time he had been carefully preparing himself for the career of a lawyer, and in 1836 he obtained a licence to practise. The following year he entered into partnership at Springfield with the Honourable J. T. Stewart. In the legal sphere he was eminently successful. His genuine honesty and his intense love of justice were most strikingly exhibited. In the celebrated Patterson trial—a case of murder—he and a lawyer named Swett were counsel for the accused. During the progress of the case he became convinced that his client was guilty. 'Swett,' said he, 'the man is guilty.' 'No doubt about that,' was

the reply. 'Then,' said Lincoln, 'you must defend him; I can't.' This Swett did, and the man was acquitted. They received a large sum for their services, but Lincoln absolutely refused to take a cent of it.

Reference has already been made to his defence of the son of his old antagonist Jack Armstrong. The lad was charged with murder, and several witnesses swore that they had seen him commit the deed at about eleven o'clock at night. Pressed to say how they could see it at that time, they replied 'by the light of the moon.' The defence was brief but conclusive. An almanack was produced which proved conclusively that on the night in question there had been no moon.

As an advocate Lincoln never wasted his time on non-essentials. He got quickly to the things which counted, and won many a case which otherwise might have been lost. Among the people of the Western States he gained a great reputation. This may be gathered from the testimonies of American judges of that day. Judge David Davis, speaking after his tragic death, said: 'In all the elements that constitute the great lawyer he had few equals. The framework of his mental and moral being was honesty. He never took from a client even when the cause was gained more than he thought the

service was worth and the client could reasonably afford to pay. He was loved by his brethren at the Bar.'

Judge Drummond bore similar witness. 'With a probity of character known to all, with an intuitive insight into the human heart, with a clearness of statement that was in itself an argument, with uncommon power and felicity of illustration—often, it is true, of a plain and homely kind—with that sincerity and earnestness which carried conviction, he was one of the most successful lawyers in the State.'

In the political sphere Lincoln was now a power to be reckoned with. He was an ardent Whig and a follower of Henry Clay. Politics at that time were terribly degraded and dragged in the mire for personal motives and aims. Candidates were willing to promise anything that was likely to further their interests. Russell Lowell, in his 'Biglow Papers,' scathingly refers to this aspect of public life. He describes the candidate as saying :

Es fur princerples, 'I glory
In hevin' nothin' o' the sort ;
I ain't a Whig, I ain't a Tory,
I'm jest a candidate, in short.

This description certainly did not fit Lincoln as a politician. The ideas which he had

formed were tenaciously held and fearlessly expressed. The policy of sitting on the fence found no favour with him.

After his return from the Black Hawk war to New Salem, he became a candidate for a seat in the State Legislature. His candidature, like his appearance, was somewhat grotesque, but he polled practically the whole of the voting strength of the town in which he lived.

We have several descriptions of him at this time. Judge Logan says : "He was a very tall, gawky, and rough-looking fellow then ; his pantaloons didn't meet his shoes by six inches, but after he began speaking I became very interested in him." A friend who was with him says : 'He wore a mixed jeans coat, claw-hammer style, short in the sleeves and bob-tail—in fact it was so short in the tail that he could not sit on it—flax and tow linen pantaloons, and a straw hat. If he had a waistcoat on, I do not remember how it looked. He wore pot-metal boots.'

In one of his addresses he said : 'Fellow citizens, I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by my friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favour of a national bank. I am in favour of the internal improvement

system and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected I shall be thankful, if not it will be all the same.' It is not to be wondered at that when the poll was declared Lincoln was not elected. In 1834 he was more successful, for on this occasion he headed the poll.

During the time he served in the State Legislature of Illinois he took an active part in opposing the extension of slavery. To some of his friends this seemed an act of folly, but with Lincoln principles far outweighed mere considerations of policy. During this period he was laying the foundation for the commanding position he afterwards gained in the State.

In 1846 Lincoln was elected as the only Whig member for Illinois to a seat in Congress. During his term at Washington he was found fighting side by side with those mighty champions of liberty, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, and Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio. He assailed slavery as unjust and cruel, and did not hesitate to declare that God would punish the nation for its share in the infamous traffic. The sight of the slaves who from time to time were marched through the streets of Washington filled him with shame, and he introduced a Bill to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, in which Washington was

situated. Though the principle of compensation was introduced into the Bill the Southern representatives resolutely opposed it, and thus prevented it from coming to a vote. As a member of Congress Lincoln actively opposed the Mexican War. This displeased the members of his own party, and doubtless had great influence in leading him not to seek re-election when his term as representative expired. Depressed and disheartened, he retired in 1849 to private life, and gave himself assiduously to his legal practice at Springfield.

The slave party were jubilant that one who had proved himself so terribly in earnest in his antagonism to the extension of slavery had passed from the House of Representatives at Washington. Little did they dream that before many years had passed away his hand would deal the death-blow to the trade they held so dear.

Child of the boundless prairie, son of the virgin soil,
Heir to the bearing of burdens, brother to them that
toil ;
God and Nature together shaped him to lead in the
van,
In the stress of her wildest weather, when the Nation
needed a Man.

Swift slip the years from their tether, centuries pass
like a breath,
Only some lives are immortal, challenging darkness
and death.
Hewn from the stuff of the martyrs, write on the
star-dust his name,
Glowing, untarnished, transcendent, high on the records
of Fame.

MARGARET ELIZABETH SANGSTER.

IV

HOME LIFE AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION

Whatever is remembered and whatever lost, we ought never to forget that Abraham Lincoln, one of the mightiest masters of statecraft that history has known, was also one of the most devoted and faithful servants of Almighty God who have ever sat in the high places of the world.

JOHN HAY.

CHAPTER IV

HOME LIFE AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION

THE courtship and marriage of Abraham Lincoln present a story in which both comedy and tragedy play their part. From his boyhood his shyness in the presence of women was proverbial. He shrank from their company, though none possessed a more reverent regard for womanhood than he.

In the year 1835 he became acquainted with Miss Anne Rutledge, to whom he was ultimately engaged. There can be little doubt that Lincoln's attachment to this lady was deep and true, and that when the engagement was broken by death he was plunged into the deepest grief and depression. He told a friend of Miss Rutledge that in her grave his hopes lay buried. The depression into which this plunged him was so severe that friends had to care for and watch over him, and Mr. Herndon's judgment that the effect on him was both acute and permanent can hardly be questioned.

Three years later Miss Mary Todd, from Kentucky, visited Springfield to see her sister, who was married to Mr. Ninian Edwards, a close friend and ally of Lincoln. Imperious in spirit and vivacious in manner, she at once exercised a great fascination over Lincoln, and after some little time had elapsed they became engaged. The wedding was fixed for January 1, 1842, but when the ceremony was to take place the bridegroom was not present. Once again he had been caught in the power of that depression which at times threatened his mental balance. It must not be forgotten that through the whole of his life Lincoln had to fight against this spirit of depression, which may be traced to the influences environing those early days which were spent amid the dreary solitude of a pioneer home. Once again his friends nursed him back to mental strength and vigour, and he returned with greater earnestness to his work at the Bar. As a result of the unfortunate proceedings on what was intended to be the bridal day the engagement was broken off, but fate had decreed that these two lives should be united, and so before long the past was forgiven and the engagement renewed.

Lincoln was certainly a peculiar kind of lover. Grave doubts once again possessed his mind as to the wisdom of the step he was

taking. At length, however, they passed away. As fortune would have it, his nearest friend, Joshua Speed, had taken what seemed to him the terrible step of marrying. He wrote to Speed :

‘I want to ask you a close question. Are you now in feeling as well as judgement glad you are married as you are ? From anybody but me this would be an impudent question, not to be tolerated, but I know you will pardon it in me. Please answer it quickly, as I am impatient to know.’ The answer seems to have been all that it should be, for on November 4, 1842, Lincoln was safely married to Miss Todd.

Of the wedding itself Lord Charnwood writes : ‘Malicious fortune brought in a ludicrous incident at the last moment, for when in the lawyer-like verbiage of the then American Prayer-Book the bridegroom said, “With this ring I thee endow with all my goods, chattels, lands and tenements,” old Judge Brown, of the Illinois Supreme Court, who had never heard the like, impatiently broke in, ‘God Almighty, Lincoln, the State fixes all that.’

It has often been asserted that the home life of Lincoln was not of the happiest kind. The imperious spirit of Mrs. Lincoln, and her submission to and acceptance of the conventions of the day, to which her husband

refused to bow, could not fail to cause differences between them. But there was a deeper cause of difference than this. Mrs. Lincoln did not possess the same strong views that her husband did in regard to slavery. This question of slavery in all the States led to unhappy divisions in Home, Church, and Nation, and it is one of the tragedies of Lincoln's life that it entered his home. His opinions were too strong to be moved or altered, and so he bravely bore the burden which was laid upon him. This very sorrow drove him in upon himself. More and more as the years passed he was fated to enter upon a life of isolation, and in his experience the wisdom of Ibsen's dictum was demonstrated, 'The strongest man on earth is the man who stands alone.'

There was ever present with him the presentiment that he was called to play a great part in a drama only dimly unveiled; and doubtless the conditions of home life to which I have referred tended to strengthen this conviction. It was during these years of isolation that he was prepared for the great work which lay before him. He entered them an ordinary man, somewhat crude in his thoughts and expressions; he emerged from them a man of altogether remarkable character, possessing the vision of the seer and the voice of the prophet;

a man who by universal consent has won his place among the immortals.

It is only fair to point out that Mrs. Lincoln from the first saw the tremendous promise of her husband's life. After his retirement from the House of Representatives in Washington he was offered the governorship of Oregon. For a time he hesitated. The position had for him many attractions, but ultimately the offer was refused. Had he accepted it he would have been removed far away from the active scenes of political life, and the history of America would have been differently written. To Mrs. Lincoln the world owes the fact that this calamity did not take place; she saved him from accepting the governorship, and so to a certain extent she saved America.

There was no break in the continuity of his home life. With his wife and children he spent hours of happiness, but he was deprived of that quiet of heart and rest of spirit which home life should bestow upon those who enter it.

Lincoln's attitude in regard to religion is of the highest importance. Strange to say, he has been claimed by adherents of almost every sect, and at the same time by those who have deliberately rejected the claims, sanctions, and authority of religion. It is necessary, therefore, that his attitude in

respect to religious truth should be clearly and definitely stated. Obviously our appeal must be to his own utterances. Testimonies of those who knew him intimately are certainly of importance, but the ultimate appeal must be to the words that proceeded from his pen or fell from his lips. If it be objected that in his great public utterances he was, so to speak, 'on parade,' and therefore too much importance must not be attached to them, the reply must at once be made that not only in his public utterances, but in his private correspondence, he reveals the attitude of the believing mind towards religion.

It is in his letters that his true attitude of mind is revealed. By them the reader can form for himself a better conception of the tenets and beliefs of this remarkable man than would be conveyed in pages of attempted characterization. A man's own words, especially when they are not intended for effect, give the truest tracing of his mental and spiritual lineaments. It must at once be admitted that he looked with suspicion upon the organized Christianity of his time. He never became a member of the Church, but he declared his willingness to join any Church which made the Master's command, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all

thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself,' the basis of its life and practice.

Certain outstanding facts connected with this part of the study of his life must be borne in mind. Though refusing to become a member of the Church, he was always most regular in his attendance upon its ministrations. In Springfield he was seldom absent from his pew in the Presbyterian church and he retained this custom until his removal to Washington. During his Presidency he not only attended the services on the Sabbath, but he was most regular in his attendance at the weekly meeting. In fact so well was it known that Lincoln would be present that many persons were led to gather in or near the church at the close of the service in order to have access to him for various purposes. Desiring to put an end to these unwelcome interruptions, Dr. Gurley, the pastor of the church, arranged for him to sit in his own room or vestry, the door of which opened on the lecture-room, and there the President would take a silent part in the service. On several occasions he declared that comfort and strength had come to him through those quiet moments of rest and prayer.

Only the man in whose heart there was response to the claims of religion would have thus acted. One of the outstanding features

54 HOME LIFE AND RELIGION

in his life was his absolute and unwavering trust in God. As a lad in his father's home his sainted mother had taught him to believe in and love God. In his early days, roaming the forests, he learnt to commune with the God of whom his mother had spoken. From the beginning to the end of his life the 'God idea' thus stood out prominently. References to his letters and speeches abundantly prove this. When he started for Washington, he said at the railway station at Springfield :

'To-day I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon General Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail ; but if the same Omniscient Mind and Almighty Arm that directed and protected him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us all pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To Him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that with equal sincerity and faith you will invoke His wisdom and guidance for me.'

In a private letter dated January 5, 1863, he declares that in his efforts to secure a righteous peace for his country he is upheld by the thought of the prayers of God's people. Then he adds : 'No one is more deeply aware than myself that without His

favour our highest wisdom is but as foolishness, and that our most strenuous efforts would avail nothing in the shadow of His displeasure.'

In his inaugurals, calls to the nation, public speeches, private letters and ordinary conversation, he declared his belief in the Eternal God whose power is always exerted on behalf of right. 'I hope,' said a minister to him, 'that the Lord is on our side.' 'I am not concerned about that,' replied Lincoln, 'for I know that the Lord is *always* on the side of the *right*; but it is my constant anxiety and prayer that *I* and this *nation* shall be on the *Lord's* side.'

If it be objected that the God of whom Lincoln spoke was not the personal God of the Christian, then the question arises, Are we to believe that he used language with a determination to deceive? If not (and the thought is incredible), then his words must bear their ordinary face value. In other words, they must be taken as expressing Lincoln's deliberate convictions on this important matter. Furthermore, the very fact that he felt the absolute and imperative need of prayer, which linked him on to the power of God, reveals the personal conception which he had formed of the Eternal.

During the dark days of the Civil War he was driven to find comfort in prayer, and

on many occasions men who came as deputations to visit him in the White House were asked to pray with him before leaving. Mr. John G. Nicolay, his private secretary, says: 'Mr. Lincoln was a praying man; I know that to be a fact. And I have heard him request people to pray for him. . . . Many a time I have heard Mr. Lincoln ask ministers and Christian women to pray for him.' One of the most notable instances of this was that which befel Dr. Simpson, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In what was perhaps the darkest moment of the great conflict Bishop Simpson had occasion to visit the White House. The President talked long and earnestly with him about the situation. When he rose to go Lincoln stepped to the door and turned the key and said: 'Bishop, I feel the need of prayer as never before. Please pray for me.' Bishop Simpson says: 'We knelt down in that room together, and all through the prayer the President responded most fervently.'

On the question of the future life Lincoln was just as emphatic. In 1851 his father lay very ill, and he wrote the following letter to his step-brother:

'I sincerely hope father may recover his health; but, at all events, tell him to remember to call upon and confide in our great and good and merciful Maker, who will

not turn away from him in his extremity. He notes the fall of a sparrow, and numbers the hairs of our heads, and He will not forget the dying man who puts his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet now it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful than pleasant; but that if it be his lot to go now, he will soon have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us, through the help of God, hope ere long to join them.'

Towards the close of his life the light of the life everlasting shone more clearly upon him. Amid the gloom of 1862, when the cause of the North was at its lowest ebb, his loved son Willie was taken away from him by the hand of death. Only those who were intimate with the President knew the sorrow that this blow caused him; but under the instruction of his friend and pastor, and following the unerring guidance of the good Spirit of God, he came to see as he had never seen before that death does not end all, but that beyond death there is the fullness of life.

We have already seen that the Bible was one of the books he possessed in his early years. The love of the Bible never passed from him. He cherished its teaching and built his life broad and high upon its foundation. In the years of his Presidency

58 HOME LIFE AND RELIGION

the Bible was constantly with him as his companion, and from its teachings he derived the strength he needed.

In view of all these facts it is impossible to resist the conclusion that he believed in God, found comfort in prayer and in the life everlasting, and was strengthened and uplifted by the Word of God. Until men are convinced that he whose entire life was straightforward, clear, and honest, was a sham, a hypocrite and trickster, he will stand before them not only as a great statesman, but also as a great believer.

V

TEMPERANCE REFORMER

The liquor traffic is a cancer in society, eating out its vitals and threatening destruction, and all attempts to regulate it will not only prove abortive, but aggravate the evil. If the prohibition of slavery is good for the black man, the prohibition of the liquor trade is equally good and constitutional for the white man.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER V

TEMPERANCE REFORMER

THE strong attitude which America has taken in regard to the question of alcoholic drink makes it imperative that we should understand the position which Lincoln took in reference to the same subject. With the exception of the questions of the maintenance of the Union and the destruction of slavery, nothing seemed to him of greater importance than that of saving his countrymen from the evil and disastrous results connected with the manufacture and sale of intoxicants. He saw clearly that the nation which yielded to the seductions of alcohol would be handicapped, both in its economic and moral life ; and, as was his wont, having come to a definite conviction, he spoke strongly and manfully. This is the more remarkable when we remember that 'during the early years of his life habitual liquor-drinking was almost universal on the frontier where he lived.' In his own words we have a pen-portrait of the life of those days. In an address delivered at Springfield in the

year 1842 he says : ' When all such of us as have now reached the years of maturity first opened our eyes upon the stage of existence, we found intoxicating liquor recognized by everybody, used by everybody, and repudiated by nobody. It commonly entered into the first draught of the infant and the last draught of the dying man. From the side-board of the parson down to the ragged pocket of the houseless loafer, it was constantly found. Physicians prescribed it in this, that, and the other disease. Government provided it for its soldiers and sailors ; and to have a rolling or raising, a husking or hoe-down anywhere without it was positively insufferable. . . . It was true that even then it was known and acknowledged that many were greatly injured by it ; but none seemed to think that the injury arose from the use of a bad thing, but from the abuse of a very good thing. The victims of it were pitied and compassionated, just as now are heirs of consumption and other hereditary diseases. Their failing was treated as a misfortune and not as a crime, or even as a disgrace.' It was to the influence of his mother that Lincoln owed the strong and definite stand he took upon this question. On this, his own statement is most emphatic. When he was at Washington as a member of Congress, he was taken to task somewhat

sharply by a fellow member because he had declined some rare wine which had been provided for them by their host. Lincoln replied : ' I meant no disrespect. I made a solemn promise to my mother a few days before her death that I would never use intoxicating drink as a beverage, and I consider that pledge as binding to-day as it was the day I gave it.' When his friend argued that times and conditions had changed, and that a promise given then was not binding now, he quietly but firmly replied : ' A promise is a promise for ever, and when made to a mother it is doubly binding.' The declaration he made to Mr. Leonard Swett towards the close of his life, that ' he never drank nor tasted a drop of alcoholic liquor of any kind ' proves how faithfully he observed the promise he made as a boy to his much-loved mother.

His principles were put to some very severe tests. One of the most severe occurred in 1860, when he received the notification of the nomination as a candidate for the Presidency. Some of his friends at Springfield wanted to provide certain intoxicants for the members of the notification committee, but Lincoln resolutely refused to agree to this, saying : ' I have never been in the habit of entertaining my friends in that way, and I cannot permit my friends

to do for me what I will not do myself.' After the business of the committee had been transacted, he invited them to partake of what he termed 'pure Adam's ale, the most healthy beverage God has given to men and the only beverage I have ever used or allowed my family to use.' This strong and manful stand for principle strengthened rather than weakened his candidature. Cases of a similar character in which his principles were put to a severe test might easily be cited. Lincoln never needlessly paraded 'his total abstinence convictions and habits before the public, but in his personal conduct, though reserved and quiet, he was as unyielding as adamant.'

In the midst of a busy and strenuous life he found time for the advocacy of temperance principles. The famous speech that he delivered in the Presbyterian Church at Springfield has been pronounced 'a masterly effort' and 'one of the best temperance addresses ever published.' In a drawing by Arthur Keller, he is depicted in the act of administering the pledge to a lad seated on the trunk of a tree to whom he is saying, 'Sonny, don't you want your name on this pledge?' and when the boy had taken it he added, 'Now, Sonny, you keep that pledge and it will be the best act of your life.'

With the work of the Anti-saloon League

he was in deepest sympathy. The efforts put forth by Major J. B. Merwin during the Civil War to promote temperance among the soldiers of the Union armies ever found in Lincoln a true and unfailing friend. The marvellous success which attended the work of the Washington Total Abstinence movement filled his heart with a great joy. Senator Blair tells us that, as a result of this movement, 'in a few years six hundred thousand drunkards had been reformed.' This joy, however, was turned to sorrow when it was found that 'three-fourths of their number soon turned back to their cups and to conditions worse than those from which they had been recruited.'

It was this which led him to see that something more than moral suasion was needed to combat this great evil. With great diligence and concentration of thought he explored the entire position, ultimately coming to the conclusion 'that no wrong can rightfully be given the sanction and protection of civil government; and that the beverage liquor traffic, being wrong, must be forbidden and as fully as possible prohibited by civil government.' In the old State House at Springfield, Illinois, he set forth these principles in an address which he delivered in response to repeated calls at the close of a lecture given by Major Merwin.

‘The law of self-protection,’ he said, ‘is the first and primary law of civilized society. Law is for the protection, conservation, and extension of right things, of right conduct, not for the protection of evil or wrong-doing. The State must in its legislative action recognize this truth and protect and promote right conditions and right conduct. This it will accomplish not by any toleration of evils, not by attempting to throw around any evil the shield of law; nor by any attempt to license the evil. This is the first and most important function in the legislation of the modern State. The prohibition of the liquor traffic, except for medical and mechanical purposes, thus becomes the new evangel for the safety and redemption of the people from the social, political, and moral curse of the saloon.’

Lincoln had thus reasoned himself into the position of an absolute prohibitionist. To him the liquor traffic was the tragedy of civilization. He therefore threw himself into the campaign which was then being waged for State-wide prohibition. There can be but little doubt that this active interest prepared him for the still greater task with which he was confronted when he was called to meet Stephen Douglas in public debate on the question of the extension of slavery. It is easy to see that the principle that ‘no

power has the right to give legal existence to any admitted wrong' with which he opposed the extension of the slave trade was precisely the same principle that he applied to the liquor traffic. The prohibition party in the State of Illinois failed to carry their measure when the struggle came in 1855, but nevertheless a splendid movement of education had been begun and much valuable seed had been sown.

We have already seen that Lincoln was strongly opposed to the licence method of dealing with the liquor trade. He held that every dollar paid for a liquor licence would entrench and defend an admitted evil. Again and again he declared that 'never by licensing an evil can the evil be removed or weakened.' When the Civil War came, and a tax upon intoxicating drink was proposed with the object of raising revenue, Lincoln as President was strongly opposed to it. 'That tax,' said he, 'will tend to perpetuate the liquor traffic, and I cannot consent to aid in doing that. 'But,' said Secretary Chase, the author of that revenue law, 'Mr. President, this is a war measure. It is only a temporary measure for a present emergency, and cannot fasten the liquor traffic upon the nation, for it will be repealed as soon as the war is ended.' Lincoln still remained hostile to the idea, but was ultimately compelled to yield to the

entreaties of some members of his Cabinet, and the proposal became law. On signing the Bill he said, 'I would rather lose my right hand than sign a document that will tend to perpetuate the liquor traffic, and as soon as the exigencies pass away, I will turn my whole attention to the repeal of that document.'

On the day of his assassination Major Merwin was a guest at the White House. He was there to receive instructions in respect to an important mission the President had commissioned him to undertake in New York. Just as he was about to depart Lincoln said: 'Merwin, we have cleaned up with the help of the people a colossal job. Slavery is abolished. After reconstruction the next great question will be the overthrow and the abolition of the liquor traffic; and you know, Merwin, that my head and heart and hand and purse will go into that work. In 1842—less than a quarter of a century ago—I predicted under the influence of God's Spirit that the time would come when there would be neither a slave nor a drunkard in the land. Thank God I have lived to see one of those prophecies fulfilled. I hope to see the other realized.' Merwin replied: 'Mr. Lincoln, shall I publish this from you?' 'Yes,' was the answer, 'publish it as wide as the daylight shines.' Next morning Major

Merwin was in New York, only to learn that the lion-hearted, great-souled man who had ever stood by him in his work for the uplifting of his fellows had fallen beneath the assassin's attack. When the great celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth was held in the United States, one of the notes struck was 'Lincolnize America,' and in the recent action taken by the Great Republic of the West in regard to prohibition that motto has been translated into actual fact.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the
Lord :

He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of
wrath are stored ;

He hath loosed the fatal lightning of His terrible, swift
sword :

His truth is marching on.

He hath sounded forth the trumpet that shall never
call retreat ;

He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgement
seat ;

Oh be swift, my soul ! to answer Him ; be jubilant,
my feet :

Our God is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of
steel ;

‘ As ye deal with My contemners, so with you My
grace shall deal.’

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with
His heel,

Since God is marching on.

I have seen Him in the watchfires of a hundred circling
camps :

They have builded Him an altar in the evening dews
and damps ;

I can read His righteous sentence by the dim and
flaring lamps :

His day is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born, across the
sea,

With a glory in His bosom that transfigures you and
me :

As He died to make men holy, let us live to make men
free,

While God is marching on.

JULIA WARD HOWE.

VI
SLAVERY

Wesley's characterization of slavery as 'the sum of all villainies' was the keynote of the anti-slavery movement until Lincoln in his letter of April 4th, 1864, to A. G. Hodges said : 'If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong.'

DR. CHAPMAN.

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not themselves, and, under the rule of a just God, cannot long retain it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER VI

SLAVERY

IT is now generally admitted that the cause of the Civil War in America was slavery. This institution had been bound up with the entire course of the nation's life. The same year which saw the *Mayflower* land its pilgrims on Plymouth Rock saw also a Dutch slaver land a cargo of African slaves at Jamestown in Virginia. Here, then, we have the origin of the great struggle. In the cabin of the *Mayflower* there is to be seen the germ of the Union Army, while on the other hand we see the inception of the secession movement between the decks of the Dutch slaver which planted the fruit of its avarice and piracy in the James River Colonies in 1620.

During the long period when America was an English colony, the importation of slaves was forced equally with British goods. From time to time there were vehement protests raised by some who dwelt in the Puritan States, but they were unheeded.

In the original draft of the Declaration of

Independence, Thomas Jefferson invoked the reprobation of mankind upon George III. for his share in the inhuman traffic. It has been pointed out, however, that this was a case of 'Satan rebuking sin,' for many men who risked all for their own freedom had no qualms of conscience in enslaving others. When the final draft was issued, this clause was expunged and domestic slavery was recognized. The Declaration of Independence in its final form stated—

'That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men. That whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'

It is somewhat difficult to bring this statement into harmony with the practice of domestic slavery, but evidently there were some among those who drew up this Declaration who did not consider the African slaves were men in the full sense of the term. There were others who went much further than

this, and boldly declared that the negro was not a man but a thing, a chattel to be dealt with precisely as its owner willed.

It is not difficult to show that this idea found expression in the Federal Constitution which was adopted. It is most important that a clear conception should be formed of what this Federal Constitution really was. It was drawn up in the Convention of 1787. In that Convention there were two distinct schools of thought at work. The one held to State Sovereignty, and those who were dominated by it regarded the Union as a Federation of States and not of Peoples; the other regarded the Union as a Federation of Peoples, and held that the ideal must be the growth of the States into full and complete national life. The former school maintained that the ultimate right to secede was possessed by every State, while the latter refused to yield this right, holding that the interests of the nation must be dominant. This cleavage of thought was of course not fully and in detail worked out, but in essence it was there.

In the years following the Convention these principles were fully and explicitly stated. The famous debate between Webster and Hayne dealt with these points. Webster appealed to the national self-consciousness, and gave the nation 'a morning vision of its

great tasks and certain destiny.' Hayne, following the lead of that great logician Calhoun, had to fall back upon the doctrine of State Sovereignty, with the implication that the contracting States might if they thought fit withdraw from the Union.

The question of slavery was also considered by the Convention of 1787, and led to a sharp division of opinion. Some of the most delicate negotiations took place on this vexed matter. It was quickly seen that certain States would not tolerate the prohibition of the slave trade. To meet the difficulty the spirit of compromise was invoked, and it was ultimately decided that the importation of slaves should not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1808. If it had been further declared that at the end of this time-limit, prohibition of the slave trade should take place, then the course would have been clear, and America would have been saved the suffering and sorrow of the Civil War. But the friends of freedom could not carry this. The compromise saved the situation for the moment, but did not provide a safe policy for the future.

It is important, however, to remember that the Federal Constitution did give the Congress its right to prohibit after 1808 if it so desired. The discovery of the cotton

gin by Eli Whitney in 1794 gave a tremendous impetus to this system, and enormously strengthened its hold upon the people of the Southern States. On the other hand, in many of the Northern States the slave system was vigorously and successfully attacked. 'New York and New Jersey adopted gradual abolition laws, and by so doing made the Southern boundary of Pennsylvania (the Mason and Dixie line), and the Ohio River the dividing-line between the free and the slave States. The Republic, in fine, was almost equally divided into slave and free soil, and as new States entered the Union they were admitted alternately free and slave.'

It soon became evident, however, that there could be no reconciliation between such antagonistic ideas. In the North anti-slavery ideas strongly developed, while in the South there arose an ambitious dream of a great slave Empire—an Empire which should include the Southern States, Mexico, Central America, and the beautiful islands of the Caribbean Sea. So the years passed, the cleavage between the two ever becoming greater.

In 1819 the question of the admission of Missouri into the Federation led to a trial of strength between the North and the South on the question of slavery. So acute was the

difference that Henry Clay, the great Whig leader, fearful that the Union would be dissolved, threw all his strength into the carrying of certain resolutions which were known as the Missouri Compromise. Under this Compromise 'Missouri was admitted as a slaveholding State. But in all the territory west of the Mississippi River, bought from France and known as the Louisiana Purchase, and lying north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$ (except in the State of Missouri) slavery was prohibited for ever. Maine meantime had applied for admission as a Free State. This was granted as part of the Compromise. When this Compromise had been accepted there were twenty-four States, twelve slave and twelve free, so that the balance of power in the Senate was preserved.'

Up to this time the South had taken an unduly prominent place in the government of the country. Virginia was known as the mother of Presidents. Most of the occupants of the Presidential Office came from the South. The practice of domestic slavery gave to the great landowners and planters a leisure which traders of the North could not find. This leisure enabled them to devote themselves to the task of the ruling and governing of the country; but when the vast territories of the North-West began to be opened up it was seen that the South

could no longer keep the favoured position they had hitherto held.

During the years following the Missouri Compromise a great development of anti-slavery ideas took place. Many papers devoted to this cause were started in the Middle and Northern States, the most notable among them being the *Liberator*, by W. Lloyd Garrison. With whole-hearted enthusiasm he flung himself into the movement which had for its aim the destruction of slavery, and to his advocacy the abolition movement owed more than to that of any other man. Full of zeal himself, he possessed the magnetic power to enthuse others. To him the slave trade stood as a foul blot upon the name and honour of America. Few will be found in these days to defend slavery. But when Garrison began his work some members of the Christian Church did not feel that it was inconsistent with their principles to hold slaves. This was the divisive influence which led to the splitting of the great Methodist Episcopal Church of America. When that division took place Lincoln, it is said, declared, 'This means civil war.'

It must not be imagined that all slaveholders were guilty of the brutality and inhumanity associated with the traffic in slaves. Let it be freely admitted that many Southern families treated their slaves kindly

and considerably. But even with them the influence was degrading rather than uplifting. When we investigate the fruitage of this trade among those who simply dealt with it as a commercial speculation, we are brought face to face with appalling barbarity. The separation of mother and child, the tearing asunder of the ties which united husband and wife, the public sales of human beings in the auction rooms, these and other nameless horrors were the constant accompaniments of this trade. Perhaps the blackest page in the record of the trade is that which tells of the breeding of these slaves to meet the labour needs of the South. From such a system there could only proceed sorrow, suffering, and wrath.

In 1829 David Walker, a negro, issued his famous appeal censuring the blacks and practically advising insurrection when the right moment arrived. This appeal was scattered over the whole Southern territory. The planters of the South were alarmed, and feeling rose to a dangerous height. Hardly had the excitement of Walker's appeal died down before there took place a rising among the negroes known as 'Nat Turner's Insurrection.' This insurrection was quelled with the greatest ruthlessness, and innocent as well as guilty suffered in the process.

The Southern States then demanded that the anti-slavery societies of the North should be prohibited, but in spite of this demand these ideas which had been promulgated spread with startling rapidity. The annexation of Texas was carried in the Congress as the result of Southern pressure, with the inevitable result, war with Mexico !

In 1850 another agitation arose as the result of the question of the admittance of California and New Mexico into the Federation. A series of compromise resolutions were passed, and many thought that at last finality had been reached. Grave doubts, however, lingered in some minds. These doubts found perhaps their best expression in some comic lines sent to a New Jersey paper :

To kill twice dead a rattlesnake,
And off his scaly skin to take,
And through the head to drive a stake,
And every bone within him break,
And of his flesh mincemeat to make,
To burn, to sear, to boil, to bake,
Then in a heap the whole to rake,
And over it the besom shake,
And sink it fathoms in the lake,
Whence after all, quite wide awake,
Comes back that very same old snake.

Little did the country think how soon this prediction would be fulfilled. In 1854 it was awakened from its fool's paradise. The

Kansas Nebraska Bill was carried, which declared the Missouri Compromise to be inoperative, and left the people of every territory, on becoming a State, free to adopt or exclude the institution of slavery. The leading spirit in this was Stephen Douglas, otherwise known as the little giant. 'He had run a career of remarkable political success. As Judge, Congressman, and Senator he had made a brilliant mark. He was of strong physical endurance, untiring industry, and persistent boldness, with a strong faculty for public speaking and unfailing political shrewdness.' Such was the man who in 1850 had spoken strongly for the Compromise Resolutions, and yet four years later was the chief figure in pressing through Congress a measure which was in direct antagonism to the Compromise. The passing of this Act revealed to many the dark days that were awaiting the nation. Already they could hear the mutterings of the storm, but not one of them dreamt of the hurricane of sorrow which was soon to break upon the nation they loved.

VII
THE MAN OF DESTINY

Alone he stands,
A solitary man,
Dark faced,
Huge framed,
Heroic plan.

In time of crisis
Doomed to stand alone.
Sore pressed,
Misunderstood,
Unyielding stone.

A. D. BURCHIT.

CHAPTER VII

THE MAN OF DESTINY

WITH the passing of the Kansas Nebraska Bill the conflict between the North and South entered on a more acute stage. In the Southern States a more aggressive spirit was manifested. The slave planters and traders felt that the system to which they passionately clung had been made safe. In the North feelings of indignation were everywhere apparent. Meetings of protest were held, and wild and whirling words became the order of the day. The great need was that of a leader with sane judgement and clear vision. Among all the recognized leaders of that day there was not one strong enough to bear the burdens and meet the claims which those times of stress laid upon him. The country needed a man destined for the work, and with the need the man of destiny was found.

The Kansas Nebraska Bill had fallen upon Lincoln like a bolt from the blue. He could not remain quiescent in the face of such treachery, and so once again he swung him-

self out into the stream of political life. In Illinois he quickly gained a commanding position, and his influence soon won its way through the whole of the Western States.

Meanwhile events were moving rapidly in Kansas. Under the terms of the new Act this State was free to choose slavery if the inhabitants so desired it. Bands of armed ruffians from the neighbouring slave State of Missouri streamed into Kansas to occupy it against the day of final reckoning. Later on men from the free States came, bringing arms as well as tools. Behind them there were the societies organized for the very purpose of supporting such a movement. It was not long before conflicts took place between these two antagonistic forces. Blood was freely spilt. Deeds of incredible darkness were committed, but in the end the free-Staters won a great victory, and Kansas was admitted into the Federation of States not as a slave, but as a *free* State. In these conflicts John Brown and his sons played a prominent part. It is just as impossible to defend all that Brown did as it was to defend the ruffianism and villainy of the Missourians. On either side there was a spirit of lawlessness, and 'bleeding Kansas' was called to pass through agony and anarchy to law and order.

Douglas must have felt that his theory of squatter sovereignty had produced results

far different from what he had hoped. Partisanship and bitterness were experienced not only in Kansas, but right through the whole of the States, and clear-sighted men were filled with forebodings as they gazed out into the future. It soon became evident that if the slave-dealers were to be defeated there must be a fusion of the parties opposed to the extension of slavery. In 1856 this fusion took place, and the new Republican party of America came into existence. This party nominated for the Presidency General Fremont, but once again victory rested with the supporters of slavery, and James Buchanan was returned as President. Defeat, however, did not weaken the enthusiasm of those who knew that they were fighting for a righteous cause. Day by day the abolitionists, led by Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Ward Beecher, Waldo Emerson, and others, grew more powerful.

A few days after Buchanan had entered upon the duties of his Presidential office a decision was given in the Supreme Court of the United States which brought the feeling of the nation to a high and dangerous pitch. It dealt with the appeal of a negro slave. Dred Scott was a slave belonging to an army surgeon, and by him had been taken into the free State of Illinois and other territories from which slavery had been excluded. The

ground of his appeal was that this residence in a free State had destroyed his master's right. The Court held that this right had not been destroyed, and then proceeded to discuss the whole question of slavery in the territories of the United States. 'Chief Justice Taney, speaking for a majority of his colleagues, declared it the opinion of the court that it was not within the constitutional power of Congress to forbid citizens of any of the States to carry their property, no matter of what sort, into the public domain, or even to authorize the regularly constituted legislature of an organized territory to forbid this, though it were property in slaves: that only States could regulate that matter.' The result of this decision, following hard as it did on the passing of the Kansas Nebraska Bill, was to create in the Southern States a confident and autocratic spirit which ultimately proved their undoing.

Up to this time Southern statesmen had been compelled to carry with them at least a part of the democratic feeling of the North. They now persuaded themselves that they were strong enough to stand alone, and from this moment the power of the South began to wane. No one more quickly discovered this flaw in their armour than Lincoln. He saw that the time had come to drive a wedge into the co-operation of the democrats of the

North with the slavers of the South, and with characteristic sagacity he seized the opportunity.

In 1858 Stephen Douglas stood for re-election to the Senate for the State of Illinois. All men knew that this was but the prelude to the great Presidential struggle which was to come two years later. Douglas had lost certain of his supporters in the South by defending the right of the people of Kansas to exclude slavery from the State. His theory of 'squatter sovereignty' compelled him, much against his inclination, to take this stand. To many it seemed an ungracious thing for Lincoln to oppose him at such a time, but the man of destiny realized, as none others did, that the crucial moment had arrived, and that everything would depend upon whether or no the opportunity was seized. Lincoln was chosen as the Republican candidate, and he at once challenged Douglas to meet him in public debate. It was in connexion with these debates that Lincoln delivered his famous speech entitled 'A House Divided against Itself.' The question which Lincoln constantly pressed home to Douglas was this: 'Can the people of the United States territory, prior to the formation of a State Constitution or against the protests of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery?'

‘Lincoln’s campaign advisers were of opinion that this question was inadvisable. They took the ground that Douglas would answer the question in such a way as to secure the approval of the voters of Illinois, and that in so doing he would win the Senatorship.’ Lincoln’s response was, in substance : ‘That may be. I hold, however, that if Douglas answers this question in a way to satisfy the democrats of the North he will inevitably lose the support of the more extreme, at least, of the democrats of the South. We may lose the Senatorship as far as my personal candidacy is concerned. If, however, Douglas fails to retain the support of the South he cannot become President in 1860. The line will be drawn directly between those who are willing to accept the extreme claims of the South and those who resist those claims. A right decision is the essential thing for the safety of the nation.’

‘The question gave no little perplexity to Douglas. He finally, however, replied that in his judgement the people of a United States territory had the right to exclude slavery. When asked again by Lincoln how he brought this into accord with the Dred Scott decision, he replied in substance : “Well, they have not the right to take constitutional measures to exclude slavery, but they can by local legislation render slavery

practically impossible." The Dred Scott decision had in fact itself overturned the Douglas theory of popular sovereignty or "squatter sovereignty." Douglas was only able to say that his sovereignty contention made provision for such control of domestic or local regulations as would make slavery impossible.

Events turned out as Lincoln anticipated. The South, in the spirit of self-confidence which had been created by the passing of the Kansas Nebraska Bill and the Dred Scott appeal, rejected the position of Douglas. A wedge had been driven right in. Douglas won the Senatorial election, but had made it well-nigh impossible to win the far more important position of the Presidency. These debates were followed with intense interest in the Eastern as well as in the Western States. Men began to realize that a man had arrived, and that new forces in politics were being exercised. To many he seemed destined by a higher power to triumph over that spirit which had for its aim the wholesale extension of human slavery.

While men were thus perturbed and their minds filled with foreboding fears, an event occurred which brought the feelings of the North to white-heat. This was the martyrdom of old John Brown, of Harper's Ferry notoriety. Brown was a Puritan both by

descent and conviction. Peter Brown was one of the band of pilgrim brethren who sailed in the *Mayflower*. John Brown's grandfather fell in 1776 in the fight for Independence. We have already seen that he and his sons had fought the slavers in the struggle for supremacy in Kansas. 'A man of strong will, great physical energy, sanguine, fanatical temperament, unbounded courage and little wisdom, his mind was crude, visionary, and ideal.' Long had he brooded over the sorrows and wrongs of the Southern slaves, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that under the strain his mental power was weakened.

It must be further borne in mind that in the bitter conflicts in Kansas one of his sons was rendered insane by the brutal conduct of the slavers, while another was murderously shot by the same party. Such a strain was more than any ordinary man could bear, and therefore it seems natural to conclude that it gravely disturbed the balance of so fanatical a temperament as that of Captain Brown.

Such was the man who planned the mad-brained scheme of invading Virginia. On Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, Brown and his few followers crossed the river and captured the armoury at Harper's Ferry. The movement, however, was doomed to

failure. The negroes refused to respond to the call to rise against their white masters. The Virginian troops surrounded the devoted band, and after bitter fighting, in which he lost two more of his boys, Brown and the few followers that remained with him were compelled to surrender. When tried in the Virginian Courts his courage did not desert him. He knew his fate, but did not quail. He was a fatalist. Speaking to a friend, he said: 'All our actions, even all the follies that led to this disaster, were decreed to happen ages before the world was made.' We need not wonder that Nicolay and Hay say, 'The gloomy philosophy of Calvin is the key which unlocks the mysteries of Brown's life and deeds.'

Many appeals for mercy were made to the South, but in vain. E. C. Stedman, in his poem 'John Brown of Ossawatimie,' had made a direct appeal to the Virginians:

But, Virginians, don't do it! for I tell you that
the flagon

Filled with blood of Old Brown's offspring, was
first poured by Southern hands;

And each drop from Old Brown's life-veins, like
the red gore of the dragon,

May spring up a vengeful Fury, hissing through
your slave-worn lands!

And Old Brown,

Ossawatimie Brown,

May trouble you more than ever when you've
nailed his coffin down!

The anger of the South was too strong, and all these appeals proved unsuccessful. On December 2 Brown fearlessly met his death on the scaffold. 'At 11 o'clock he stepped out of jail with a bright serene countenance, holding his head like a victorious hero going to his reward. Close to the door stood a negro woman with a child in her arms. Stooping down, he kissed the chubby black face of the infant. Whittier sang :

John Brown of Ossawatimie,
They led him out to die ;
And lo ! a poor slave mother
With her little child pressed nigh,
Then the bold blue eye grew tender,
And the old harsh face grew mild,
As he stooped between the jeering ranks
And kissed the negro's child.
The shadows of his stormy life
That moment fell apart,
And they who blamed the bloody hand
Forgave the loving heart.
That kiss from all its guilty means
Redeemed the good intent,
And round the grisly fighter's hair
The martyr's aureole bent.

In the North he was regarded as a martyr. On the day of his execution bells were tolled and services were held in many of the churches. Some of the testimonies borne to his work were most striking. Thoreau said :

‘Some 1,800 years ago Christ was crucified ; this morning perchance Captain Brown was hung. These are the ends of a chain which is not without its links.’ Theodore Parker did not hesitate to declare that ‘the road to heaven was as short from the gallows as from a throne, perhaps also as easy.’ Emerson, one of America’s finest and most gifted sons, spoke of Brown ‘as a new saint waiting yet his martyrdom, and who, if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross.’

In justice to Lincoln it must be stated that he did not agree with the extreme views of Brown and his confederates. He was too good a Constitutionalist for this. The attitude he took in his fight against slavery was to strive to put it within a ring fence and to prevent it from extending outside. His belief was that if this could be done slavery in time would pass away and the nation become altogether free. He held that this was the original idea of the founders of the Constitution. Much can be said in favour of this contention. When the Constitution was framed, slavery, as we have seen, was recognized, but it is not difficult to see that at that time the idea was to keep it within a strictly definite limit, and many even of those who held slaves believed that in a very short period it would cease to exist.

This was the view held tenaciously by Lincoln. It was well that this view had its advocates. Clearly enough we see to-day that it was doomed to failure. Slavery had to perish in a great national crisis, but the nation might not have been able to survive that crisis if those who stood at the head of that Government had alienated moderate opinion. Lincoln was reared in one of the border States. He knew, as the men from the East could not know, that the ultimate decision would very largely lie with those border States, and that to alienate them would be madness. To weld and ultimately to range them definitely on the side of freedom would be a sure guarantee of success. This was the course which he deliberately adopted, and it is only as we realize how clear-sighted and far-reaching his views were that we are able to understand the greatness of the man whom destiny had marked out to be the liberator of a whole race.

VIII

THE ORATORY OF LINCOLN

As a man of speech we find Lincoln standing high among the rare company of natural orators. He could suit himself and his style to special conditions as very few have done. The fickle mob, the reluctant and impatient jury, the biassed judge, the prejudiced Senate, the great mercurial national assemblies, all fell before the wizardry of his tongue.

REV. S. ARCHIBALD PARSONS.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ORATORY OF LINCOLN

HAVING indicated Lincoln's attitude towards the slave problem, it will be well to consider his use of that medium by which he made known these views to the people. The medium he employed was that of speech. It was on the public platform that he set forth those views which afterwards received so complete a vindication. There can be but little doubt that Lincoln stands forth as one of the world's great orators. By his speech he not only moved men, but at the same time he inspired a nation. The spoken word was the vehicle by which he appealed to the heart of the nation to which he belonged. It may be questioned whether in the whole course of history so great and far-reaching results have ever been secured as those realized by some of Lincoln's speeches. It has now become the fashion to regard with contempt the speaking man, but a study of Lincoln's life proves a valuable corrective to this tendency. In speaking, however, of Lincoln as an orator we must

100 THE ORATORY OF LINCOLN

put from us many of those views which are generally associated with the word. He did not indulge in mere spread-eagleism. With him the truth to be stated stood first. At the same time he did not treat as a light and unimportant matter the medium by which it was to be conveyed. Hence in his later speeches there is a fine adjustment between the matter and form of his utterances. Though he never lost that gift of homely humour with which he had been so richly endowed, still in his important deliverances he kept it under strict control. Such a speech as that delivered at the Cooper Institute, New York, reads like a problem in Euclid and carries the reader on to one clear and definite conclusion. Nor is it alone among his speeches in this respect. Reference has already been made to the public debates he held with Stephen Douglas in Illinois. As these gave him the recognized position of leader of the West, it will be necessary to consider them a little more closely. There are certain notes struck in these speeches which must ever be remembered. Among the foremost of these is the statement that the nation could not endure half slave and half free. This is the great note struck in the 'house divided against itself' speech. Starting with the declaration that for five years they had been trying the

principle of compromise in order to end the slavery agitation, and that the net result had been to strengthen and embitter it, he said :

“ A house divided against itself cannot stand.” I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall ; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction ; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become lawful alike in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South.’

He was urged by his friends not to make this speech. To them it seemed too provocative, too far ahead of its time. To all these arguments Lincoln replied : ‘ Friends, this thing has been retarded long enough. The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered ; and if it is decreed that I should go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth—let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right.’ In a Senatorial sense Lincoln did die, for Douglas defeated him ; but through death he passed to life, as President of the United States and liberator of the slave race.

Another dominant note in his speeches of this period is that slavery is the nullification of the law of right. Douglas had declared that he did not care whether slavery was voted up or down, and Lincoln at once laid hold of this cynical admission. He links this admission on to the action of those who with their open Bibles could yet defend slavery, and says: 'I know there is a God, and that He hates injustice and slavery. I see the storm coming, and I know that His hand is in it. If He has a place and work for me I am ready. I am nothing, but truth is everything. I know that I am right because I know that liberty is right. Douglas does not care whether slavery is voted up or down, but God cares, humanity cares, and I care, and by God's help I shall not fail. I may not see the end; but it will come, and I shall be vindicated, and these men will find that they have not read their Bibles aright.'

By his opponents he was often charged with the desire to see the mingling of the two races, white and black. Against this he strongly protested, but at the same time held that there were certain inalienable rights belonging to men of every hue and colour, and in the very forefront of these rights was the right of liberty. 'Slavery,' he said, 'is founded on the selfishness of

man's nature, it is a violation of the Eternal right, and as long as God reigns and school children read, that black evil can never be consecrated into God's truth.' Again, we find him saying in these debates: 'A man does not lose his right to a piece of property which has been stolen. Can a man lose the right to himself, if he himself has been stolen?' In the speeches he delivered in connexion with this campaign there are many passages of great beauty, but if we can believe the testimony of those who listened to them it is clear that the influence they exerted can scarcely be gauged from the printed page.

One who was present says: 'Lincoln loved truth for its own sake. He had a deep, true, living conscience; honesty was his polar star. He never acted for stage effect. He was cool, spirited, reflective, self-possessed, and self-reliant. His style was clear, terse, compact. . . . He became tremendous in the directness of his utterance when, as his soul was inspired with the thought of human right and divine justice, he rose to impassioned eloquence, and at such times he was, in my judgement, unsurpassed by Clay or by Mirabeau.'

At one of his meetings an opponent asked Mr. Lincoln, 'Is it true that you entered the State barefooted, driving a yoke of oxen?'

This was obviously a gibe at the poverty of his early life. For a moment he was silent, then he raised himself to his full height, his face was illumined, and straight from the shoulder came the reply, 'Yes, I entered the State barefooted—the driver of an ox team, and what freedom has done for me it will do for any man, while slavery drags down black and white together.' Then in a wonderful passage he declares that 'the fight against slavery will go on until everywhere in that broad land the sun shall shine and the rain shall fall and the wind shall blow on no man that goes forth to unrequited toil.'

It is no exaggeration to say that the speeches he delivered in connexion with his debates with Douglas made him the outstanding leader of the Republican Party in the Western States. Early in the year 1860 the representatives of the Party in New York invited him to deliver one of a series of lectures which they had arranged in order to set forth their principles. He decided to deal with the question of slavery, which was then uppermost in men's minds. His visit inspired much curiosity. What would this leader from the West be like? Would his deliverances be along the lines generally taken by Western speakers? These were the questions men asked one another when it was known that Abe Lincoln was to speak

at the Cooper Institute on February 27, 1860. When the night came the great hall was crowded from floor to ceiling.

William Cullen Bryant was in the chair. No one knew better than the speaker the great opportunity which had come to him, and in a speech closely reasoned from start to finish he set forth the crisis through which the nation was passing as no other man had done. One of his hearers says :

‘When Lincoln rose to speak, I was greatly disappointed. He was tall—oh, how tall!—and so angular and awkward that I had, for an instant, a feeling of pity for so ungainly a man. His clothes were black and ill-fitting, badly wrinkled—as if they had been jammed carelessly into a small trunk. His bushy head, with the stiff black hair thrown back, was balanced on a long and lean head-stalk, and when he raised his hands in an opening gesture, I noticed that they were very large. He began in a low tone of voice, as if he were used to speaking out-doors, and was afraid of speaking too loud. I said to myself, “Old fellow, you won’t do; it’s all very well for the Wild West, but this will never go down in New York.” But pretty soon he began to get into his subject; he straightened up, made angular yet graceful gestures, his face lighted as with an inward fire, the whole man was

transformed. I forgot his clothes, his personal appearance, and his individual peculiarities. Presently, forgetting myself, I was on my feet with the rest, yelling like a wild Indian, cheering this wonderful man. When he reached a climax, the thunders of applause were terrific. It was a great speech. When I came out of the hall, my face glowing with excitement and my frame all a-quiver, a friend, with his eyes aglow, asked me what I thought of Abe Lincoln, the rail-splitter. I said, "He's the greatest man since St. Paul." And I think so yet.'

The closing sentences of the speech—
'Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government nor of dungeons to ourselves. *Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it*'—rang as a clarion call to the men of the North. Lincoln entered the hall on that evening leader of the West; he left it leader both of *East* and West.

The great speech he delivered in connexion with the first inaugural as President will never be forgotten for its appeal to men of the South. Speaking with deep emotion, he said:

'In your hands, my dissatisfied country-

men, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one to protect, preserve, and defend it. I am loth to close. We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may be strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over the broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the union, when again touched, as surely they will be by the better angels of our nature.'

At the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg in 1863 Lincoln was present. Edward Everett delivered a fine oration two hours in length. At the close Lincoln rose and said :

'Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

'Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battle-field of that war. We have come to dedicate a

portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

‘But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.’

This short speech will for ever stand as a classic among the English-speaking peoples of the world. Closely related to this is the speech he delivered in connexion with his second inaugural. He speaks just like one of the old Hebrew prophets. Running right

through his address there is the application of 'the eternal law of compensation to the sin and atonement of American slavery.' He points out that the war which is now nearing its close entails responsibility both on North and South, and appeals to men of the North that the spirit of charity shall be manifested towards the conquered. Then in a never-to-be-forgotten passage he adds :

' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offences, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him ? Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgements of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

' With malice toward none, with charity

110 THE ORATORY OF LINCOLN

for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in ; to bind up the nation's wounds ; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan ; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.'

In him whose views on this question of supreme importance we have been following the world has come to recognize 'the man of destiny' raised up by an Invisible Power to lead the great nation of the West through the most bitter and tragic chapter of its history.

IX

PRESIDENT—SECESSION—CIVIL
WAR

For my own part I consider the central idea prevailing in this struggle is the necessity that is upon us of proving that popular government is not an absurdity. We must settle that question now, whether in a free government, the minority have a right to break up the government whenever they choose. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves. Taking the government as we found it, we will see if the majority can preserve it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER IX

PRESIDENT—SECESSION—CIVIL WAR

It was while the mind of the North was in a seething state of excitement that the Republican Party met at Chicago to select its candidate for the Presidential struggle of 1860. Seward of New York was the favourite, but it quickly became evident that his name could not hope to fuse and carry the various opinions represented in the Convention, and the choice ultimately fell upon Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. His nomination caused intense feeling in the South. Threats of secession came with every wind that blew, and arrangements were made to carry these threats into effect. The Democratic Convention, which met prior to the Republican, had gone hopelessly to pieces. The extreme section nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, while the more moderate section proved loyal to Stephen Douglas. The wedge which Lincoln had driven into the Democratic Party when he forced Douglas to make avowals in regard to the exclusion of slavery in the United

States Territory, had already produced a serious cleavage.

On November 6, 1860, the election took place, with the result that one hundred and eighty of the electoral votes went to Lincoln and only one hundred and three to his three opponents combined. The popular vote showed the following results: Lincoln (Republican), 1,864,452; Douglas (Democrat), 1,375,157; Breckinridge (Slaver), 847,953; Bell (Constitutional Union), 590,631.

A victory so narrow could not be hailed as a great popular triumph. The threats of secession were quickly carried into effect, South Carolina leading the way. By the beginning of February the States of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana had followed the lead of South Carolina, and passed Ordinances of Secession. Texas was clearly preparing to pass a similar Ordinance; but Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas waited until the outbreak of civil war before they took a like step. A Confederate Government was established, and Jefferson Davis was elected President.

The question as to the legal right of secession has been often debated. It would be difficult to deny this legal right if the question had to be decided absolutely by what took place at the Federal Convention

of 1787. We have already seen that there were two currents of opinion working in that Convention. Further, statements had been made by some of the delegates to that Convention that the States possessed this right. Jefferson Davis and those associated with him made much of these points, utterly forgetful of the fact that the mere statement of an interested party does not constitute a proof in itself. The factor in the case which has always to be considered is that for nearly three-quarters of a century union had been realized. The national idea had steadily grown and developed. Men had wrought, suffered, and died for the nation to which they belonged. Was it within the powers of their descendants to fall back upon what took place at a Convention when the State was in its infancy? The admittance of such a claim would be fatal to that power which must in the very nature of the case be vested in any Government. This was tersely expressed by the Duke of Argyll when he said: 'I know of no government in the world that could possibly have admitted the right of secession from its own allegiance.' Had not the Southern leaders of that day been blinded by their love of slavery they must have seen this as both North and South see it to-day. Unfortunately the teachings of Calhoun had gripped and dominated the

heart and life of the South, and therefore it became easy to place what they conceived to be the interests of their States above those of the nation. With such an attitude of mind secession became easy.

By American law the President elected in November does not assume office until the following March. Lincoln therefore was compelled to be a silent spectator as the great drama of secession unfolded itself. President Buchanan was utterly unfit to guide the nation through such an emergency. Many members of the Cabinet were openly disloyal. Dr. Putnam tells us that 'the Secretary of the Navy, a Southerner, had taken pains to send to the farthest waters of the Pacific as many as possible of the vessels of the American fleet. The Secretary of War, also a Southerner, had for months been busy in transferring to the arsenals of the South the guns and ammunition that had been stored in the Federal arsenals of the North; the Secretary of the Treasury had had no difficulty in disposing of government funds in one direction or another so that there was practically no balance to hand over to his successor.' At length this treachery came to an end, for on March 4 Lincoln was inaugurated, and the government passed into his hands.

Every effort was made to conciliate the

South, but in vain. Alexander H. Stevens, who first opposed secession but afterwards became Vice-President of the Confederate Government, declared that 'Slavery is the corner-stone of our new Nation.' With such a spirit there could be no conciliation between North and South. The latter had determined to put the matter to the arbitrament of the sword, and the dogs of war were soon let loose.

Immediately after his inauguration Lincoln received the report of Major Anderson, of Fort Sumter, that his provisions were nearly exhausted, and that it would require an army of 20,000 men to relieve him. Such an army was not in existence, but Lincoln gave notice to the Governor of South Carolina that he intended to send provisions to the Fort. Upon this the Confederate Government gave orders to reduce the Fort, and Anderson was compelled to capitulate on April 14. This unprovoked attack was 'intended to be the knell of the Union—it proved to be the knell of slavery.'

'The North could have overlooked many overt acts on the part of the angry South, but the insult to the flag of the Union must be avenged. It could only be wiped out in blood. A great burst of patriotic wrath swept over the North.'

Lincoln's immediate response to this attack

upon the Stars and Stripes was to issue a call for 75,000 men. This call was enthusiastically responded to by the Free States. From Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri insulting refusals were sent in response to the President's call. Four of these States—Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas—joined the Confederacy; but the Border States of Kentucky, Missouri, Delaware and Maryland were eventually saved to the Union. Maryland was immediately called to pass through a serious crisis. The 6th Massachusetts was the first regiment to reach Washington in response to the call of Lincoln. On their way thither they passed through Baltimore, where they were attacked by a secessionist mob. 'The soldiers lost four men killed and thirty-six wounded, the citizens perhaps two or three times that number.' For the moment it seemed as if the State of Maryland had gone over to the cause of the Confederates, but on the Government taking a firm stand the frenzy subsided and Maryland was saved to the Union.

The main difficulty which faced Lincoln at the outset, and which followed him during the first two years of the Civil War, was to find officers capable of taking the higher appointments. General Scott was too old to take active service as Commander of the

Federal Army. The Government therefore turned to Robert E. Lee, who had denounced secession as a ruinous act. But the claims of his native State, Virginia, weighed more strongly with him than the claims of the nation, and on April 20 he tendered his resignation as an officer. Two days later he was appointed to the command of the Virginian troops, and ultimately became Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate armies. The loss of Robert Lee was serious, as also was that of such men as Johnston, Beauregard, and others. On the other hand, men like Thomas of Virginia, Anderson of Kentucky, and Farragut of Tennessee, who placed loyalty to the nation above fidelity to their States, proved a great strength to the administration in this time of crisis. In the West, General Fremont was placed in command of the Union Forces, but proved a lamentable failure. In Ohio Captain McClellan was appointed Major-General, with special instructions to guard the line of the Ohio River and to defend the interests of the western part of Virginia, where the inhabitants were thoroughly loyal and had formed themselves into a separate State and been admitted into the Union. He fought a successful engagement at Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford, routing the Confederate force which Lee had sent to invade West

Virginia. This success caused him to be regarded as one who was to play a leading part in the great struggle. After-events proved how illusory this view was.

Many men in the North had entered upon the war believing that it would be of short duration. When therefore the months passed and no advance was made by the army of the Potomac, discontent began to be manifested. The cry 'On to Richmond' was raised, and the Government felt that from political reasons something should be attempted. The judgement of General Scott, who in spite of his age was still retained as General-in-Chief, was against this, but ultimately he yielded and sanctioned a plan drawn up by General McDowell. Briefly stated, the plan was for McDowell to attack the main Confederate Army, which, under Beauregard, lay on the south side of the Bull Run River. A smaller Confederate force under J. A. Johnston was near Harper's Ferry, and Patterson, a Union General, with sufficient force, was ordered to contain the army under Johnston. McDowell explicitly pointed out that his force was not sufficient to enable him successfully to engage both these armies, and the reply he received from General Scott was, 'If Johnston joins Beauregard, he shall have Patterson on his heels.' Accordingly McDowell attacked, and at first

drove back the Confederates. Patterson, however, neither attacked nor strongly threatened, and Johnston was enabled to effect a junction with the main army at Bull Run. The result was that at the close of the day, which had begun so brilliantly for the Northern forces, Beauregard was able to throw in fresh reserves; the Northern forces were thrown back and suffered a disastrous defeat. Had Patterson performed the task which had been assigned to him of containing Johnston, a brilliant victory instead of a disastrous defeat would have been realized.

In the South the victory was exultantly hailed; in the North it caused the bitterest disappointment. McClellan was called to Washington, where he was received not only with cordiality, but also with an outburst of popular enthusiasm. He writes: 'I find myself in a new and strange position here. President, Cabinet, General Scott and all deferring to me. By some strange operation of magic I seem to have become the power of the land.' McClellan was not the type of man that could bear such adulation as this. It created in his heart a spirit of colossal vanity and inordinate self-esteem. Instead of realizing that he had to win his spurs, he spoke and acted as if the whole country lay in his hand. In spite of his

arrogance Lincoln loyally supported him, hoping and believing that he would soon make some effective movement; but when the months passed without any such movement taking place the patience of the President was sorely tested. However, in spite of his inactivity, when General Scott retired from the position of General-in-Chief, McClellan was appointed his successor.

Lincoln has been somewhat sharply criticized for the forbearance he showed to McClellan; but it must be remembered that the latter had manifested considerable ability in reorganizing the army of the Potomac after the disastrous defeat at Bull Run. There can be no doubt that McClellan would have made an admirable commander at the base. In preparing and equipping armies he would have found his proper sphere, but he totally lacked that power of initiative and swift decision which are so essential in a commander at the front. This may be clear to us to-day, but it was not so clear to Lincoln. He was feeling his way along a dark path. His one effort was to find men who would do things. A false step might easily have meant the ruin of the Union cause. That Lincoln did not take this false step is a demonstration of the wisdom with which he acted during those trying days.

Lincoln's difficulties did not begin and

end with the army. He had conflicting elements in his Cabinet. Seward of New York, who had been appointed Secretary of State, had never quite forgiven his being 'put to one side for an uncultivated, inexperienced Westerner.' Three weeks after the Government had taken office he wrote to the President saying that 'the Government had as yet no policy; that its action seemed to be simply drifting.' Then he asked, 'Who is to control the National policy?' and suggests that he is willing to take it, and to leave if necessary the credit to the nominal chief. Lincoln's dignified answer settled the question of responsibility once and for all: 'There must, of course, be control, and the responsibility for this control must rest with me,' wrote the President; then, after pointing out the steps which had been taken for the defence of the nation, he said: 'I have a right to expect loyal co-operation from my associates in the Cabinet. I need their counsel, and the nation needs the best service that can be secured from our united wisdom.' Seward also made a proposition to Lincoln that he should seek a quarrel with certain European nations in order that the quarrel between North and South might be healed in the presence of foreign foes. This Bismarckian policy was most abhorrent to the strong, sane

mind of the President, and it was summarily rejected.

With other members of the Cabinet difficulties were experienced. Cameron's appointment to the War Office was most unfortunate. His traffickings in appointments and contracts made it impossible for him to retain the office, and Stanton, sometimes called 'the Carnot of the War,' was appointed in his stead. With Lincoln groping his way through this maze of difficulty, and unflinchingly bearing the heavy burdens which his high office entailed upon him, the first year of his Presidency ebbed away.

X

DARK DAYS

This sad and lonely soul from the 'Sangamon,' disdaining the loud-mouthed protestations of loyalty common to smaller souls, in the time of his country's danger stood like a lighthouse upon the rock-bound shore of national destiny and guided the storm-tossed ship of state into the harbour of peace.

A. D. BURCHIT.

CHAPTER X

DARK DAYS

AMONG all who have written on the subject of the Civil War in America there is a consensus of opinion that from the standpoint of the fortunes of the North the darkest days were those of 1862. The early hopes which had been cherished of a speedy and victorious peace had proved illusory. Instead of victory there had come defeat. The enthusiasm which had animated men at the outbreak of hostilities was beginning to die down, and feelings of despondency gripped and dominated the minds of many. To Lincoln the dark days of 'Sixty-two' came as a grievous burden. That he did not let this burden crush him forms the highest testimony that can be paid to him. In days of darkness and defeat he stood as a great encouraging force, animating and enthusing with his spirit the hearts and lives of others. There can be but little doubt that he saw dimly what men are able to see clearly to-day, viz., that in spite of seeming failure considerable progress had been made in the work of suppressing

the rebellion. 'A considerable navy had been improvised; Port Royal, the finest Southern harbour, captured and occupied; and an effectual blockade established along the whole vast line of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The Confederate leaders had confidently expected to secure the adhesion of the entire South; but this hope had been effectually baffled. Maryland, Western Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, forming the whole northern tier of the Slave States, were under the official control of the Unionist Government, and for the greater part within Union military lines. Half a million Federal soldiers were under arms, ready for future campaigns; and there was as yet no perceptible abatement in the streams of volunteers flowing to camps of instruction near the capitals of the Free States.'

From the very first the North had held the ascendancy in naval matters. The Confederacy suffered severely from the grip and pressure ceaselessly exercised by sea power. Not only did the blockade which the North had established on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts prevent any foreign power sending arms and other munitions of war, but it also prevented the South from exporting cotton and so turning their produce into gold. This economic pressure told most severely on the Southern States. Foreign luxuries practi-

cally disappeared. Confederate finance became hopelessly discredited. This may seem strange to those who have often read the stirring exploits of the *Alabama*, but in such matters as these long views must be taken. The presence on the high seas of one or two commerce raiders, however costly and annoying their operations might be to the North, could not for one moment be compared to the ceaseless and relentless strangle-hold exercised by the sea-power of the North. It must not be forgotten that this blockade of the Southern coast entailed also great suffering upon other nations. This was notably so in respect of England. The cotton industry of Lancashire was sorely smitten, and the cotton famine entailed upon the operatives of the north of England bitter and terrible suffering. In spite of this, the sympathy of the democracy of this land was whole-hearted in support of the cause of the North. While the politicians were coquetting with the South, and Mr. Gladstone was declaring that Jefferson Davis had created a nation, the poor who were suffering as a result of the conflict remained faithful to Lincoln and the ideals for which he stood.

The principal theatre of the war on land was the territory lying between Washington on the north and Richmond on the south. The Union forces were, as we have seen,

under the command of General McClellan. The opening of the year 1862 found the General still engaged in his policy of dilly-dally. By American law the position and power of Commander-in-Chief was vested in the President. Lincoln therefore ordered the armies of the North to move on February 22. McClellan was relieved of his duties as General-in-Chief and given command of the forces directed to operate against Richmond. There can be but little doubt that if this command had been obeyed the Northern forces would have been successful and the war materially shortened. But once again the hesitating spirit of McClellan interposed a barrier. He formulated an alternative scheme, which consisted of a flank movement down Chesapeake Bay. Lincoln was loth to interfere with the Generals in the field, and therefore gave his consent. An army of over 120,000 men was conveyed to Fortress Monroe, and the march on Richmond commenced. Had this been pushed with promptness and vigour it is hard to see how Richmond could have been held by the Confederate army. Instead of promptness and vigour McClellan manifested hesitation and feebleness. All his energies seemed to be centred in complaint and correspondence with the President and the Secretary of War. With such a leader the movement was doomed to failure.

When the attack took place the Southern forces were prepared and the Northern army badly placed. Even then a man of quick decision and iron determination might have inflicted a serious defeat on the enemy, but these were the precise characteristics McClellan lacked. The series of conflicts known as the 'Seven Days Battles' led to no decisive result, and ultimately the army of the North retreated to Harrison's Landing and from thence was transported once again to Washington.

Meanwhile Lincoln had been busy striving to find men fit to take control of the new armies which had been brought into existence. General Pope was brought from the west and given command of the forces under Fremont, Banks, and McDowell. This army was called the army of Virginia. General Halleck was brought to Washington and given the position of General-in-Chief. These changes, however, did not prevent further disaster. General Robert Lee, finding that Richmond was safe, attacked the army of Virginia under Pope, and succeeded in inflicting upon him a severe defeat. By this defeat Washington, the head of the Federal Government, was placed in a position of danger. General Pope was of course relieved of his command, and Lincoln once again turned to McClellan and placed him in command of

the defences of Washington. Feeling that there was little hope of successfully attacking Washington, Lee crossed the Potomac and invaded Maryland. His hope was that the sympathisers with the South in this State would rise, and thus he would seize the communications of Washington. McClellan was ordered to oppose defensive tactics to this movement and to secure the safety of the city. A wonderful piece of good fortune now fell into his hands. In an abandoned camp a private soldier picked up a copy of Lee's general order revealing the fact that the Southern commander had been compelled to separate his army into two parts, and that these could not be brought together for twenty-four hours. 'For twenty-four hours McClellan had the safety of Lee's army in his hands, but these precious hours were spent in "getting ready," that is to say, in vacillating.' When, four days later, the battle of Antietam was fought, Lee's forces were re-united. The slaughter was appalling, and the result was a drawn battle. As Northern reinforcements were coming with great rapidity Lee determined to retire across the Potomac. McClellan's obvious duty was to attack him before this could be done, but once again there came into play the old spirit of hesitancy and uncertainty. The result was that Lee was

enabled to escape from a difficult and dangerous situation.

Lincoln's irritation at this fresh manifestation of tardiness and vacillation found expression in his letters to McClellan. He writes :

'Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you cannot do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess, and act upon the claim? As I understand, you telegraphed General Halleck that you cannot subsist your army at Winchester unless the railroad from Harper's Ferry to that point be put in working order. But the enemy does now subsist his army at Winchester, at a distance nearly twice as great as you would have to do, without the railroad last named. He now wags from Culpeper Court-house, which is just about twice as far as you would have to do from Harper's Ferry. He is certainly not more than half as well provided with wagons as you are. . . .

'Again, one of the standard maxims of war, as you know, is to "operate upon the enemy's communications without exposing your own." You seem to act as if this applies against you, but cannot apply it in your favour. Change positions with the enemy, and think you not he would break your communications with Richmond in twenty-

four hours? . . . You are now nearer Richmond than the enemy is by the route you can and he must take. Why can you not reach there before him, unless you admit that he is more than your equal on a march? His route is the arc of a circle, while yours is the chord. The roads are as good on your side as on his. . . . If he should move northward, I would follow him closely, holding his communications. If he should prevent our seizing his communications and move towards Richmond, I would press closely to him, fight him, if a favourable opportunity should present, and at least try to beat him to Richmond on the inside track. I say "Try"; if we never try, we shall never succeed. . . . If we cannot beat him when he bears the wastage of coming to us, we never can when we bear the wastage of going to him. . . . As we must beat him somewhere or fail finally, we can do it, if at all, easier near to us than far away. . . . It is all easy if our troops march as well as the enemy, and it is unmanly to say that they cannot do it.'

It has been suggested, and there is proof in support of it, that McClellan, who had been approached by certain democrats to be their candidate for the next Presidential election, did not desire to overthrow and destroy the Southern forces under Lee. He

desired rather so to conduct the war as to conciliate and not conquer the South. Lincoln seemed to have formed some such opinion respecting him. Be that as it may, the President's patience was now thoroughly exhausted; McClellan was ordered to report to his home in New Jersey, and from this point he retires from the history of the war.

The choice of a successor entailed upon the weary President another onerous task. General Burnside was chosen, but from the first it was clear that he was no match for Lee, who certainly was one of the greatest soldiers America has ever produced. 'On December 11 and 12, 1862, Lee's army lay strongly posted on the south of the Rappahannock.' Burnside was rash enough to attack him in this strongly entrenched position, with the result that in the battle of Fredericksburg he received a crushing and terrible defeat. It was amid the disaster and defeat which had fallen upon the armies of the North operating between Washington and Richmond that the year 1862 came to an end.

The campaign in the west did something to relieve the prevailing gloom which had fallen on the North as the result of the operations in Virginia. Fort Henry and Fort Donelson surrendered to Grant, who, although occupying a subordinate position,

was infusing new hope and energy into the Northern forces operating on the west. The battle of Shiloh was fought and won. Island No. 10 on the Mississippi River was surrendered and New Orleans captured by Admiral Farragut. If after the battle of Shiloh Halleck had marched swiftly on Corinth, it is almost certain that the garrison of fifty thousand Confederates would have been captured. Unfortunately this was not done, and Beauregard was enabled to escape with the whole of the army. Lincoln and the members of his administration were most anxious that the Mississippi should be completely opened. To accomplish this it was necessary that the Confederate stronghold at Vicksburg should be captured. Attempts were made, but Halleck's slowness of movement gave the requisite time for the completion of the defences, and the complete control of the river was not obtained until the following year. So far as the west was concerned, the latter half of the year 1862 showed a scattering of forces and a waste of time and labour which deepened the gloom and depression which had fallen upon the North.

The one man who in those days never lost hope was Lincoln. To him there came special trials. His lad Willie was taken from him by the hand of death. With trouble

and disaster in the nation, and sorrow in the home, his lot was sad indeed. In these dark days he found strength in communing with God. Realizing the seriousness of the position, he appealed to the Governors of the Free States for volunteers, and immediately a call was issued for three hundred thousand men. This call was not unheeded. Gibbon, in his stirring lines, has depicted the response which came to his call :

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more

From Mississippi's winding stream and from New England's shore.

We leave our ploughs and workshops, our wives and children dear,

With hearts too full for utterance, with but a silent tear.

We dare not look behind us, but steadfastly before ;

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more.

If you look across the hill-tops that meet the Northern sky,

Long moving lines of rising dust your vision may descry ;

And now the wind an instant tears the cloudy veil aside,

And floats aloft our spangled flag in glory and in pride,

And bayonets in the sunlight gleam, and bands brave music pour,

We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand more.

If you look all up our valleys where the growing
harvests shine,
You may see our sturdy farmer boys fast forming
into line,
And children from their mother's knees are pulling
at the weeds,
And learning how to reap and sow against their
country's needs,
And a farewell group stands weeping at every cottage
door ;
We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred
thousand more.

You have called us, and we're coming by Richmond's
bloody tide,
To lay us down for freedom's sake our brother's
bones beside,
And from foul treason's savage grasp to wrench the
murderous blade,
And in the face of foreign foes its fragments to
parade ;
Six hundred thousand loyal men and true have gone
before ;
We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred
thousand more.

The nation had called them. They responded
to the nation's need, and by so doing saved
the cause of the Union in its darkest hour.

XI
EMANCIPATION

O dark, sad millions, patiently and dumb
Waiting for God, your hour at last has come,
And freedom's song
Breaks the long silence of your night of wrong !

J. G. WHITTIER.

No human power can subdue this rebellion without
the use of the Emancipation policy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER XI

EMANCIPATION

WHEN the Southern States determined on rebellion, they little thought that they were forging a weapon which would ultimately destroy the system of slavery on which they placed so much value. Had they remained loyal to the Union, domestic slavery within certain limits would have continued for a considerable time, though its ultimate extinction can scarcely be questioned. By throwing off their allegiance they subjected this system to the chances and fortunes of war, and these were the forces which suddenly thrust it to the front and led to its speedy destruction. During the first few months of the war this was not clearly seen; indeed, the Crittenden resolution passed by the Congress on July 4, 1861, with only four dissentients, declared 'that the war was not waged to overthrow or interfere with rights or established institutions of Southern States.' It was easy to pass a resolution like this, but there were certain influences and forces at work which made non-inter-

ference with the established institutions of the South utterly impossible. Wherever the forces of the North invaded Southern territory the question at once arose as to what was to be done with the coloured population. The planters retired further south; many of the negroes remained. 'What should be done with these slaves, and what was their legal status? Were they property, or men, women, and children? Were they flotsam and jetsam? Could the United States own slave property? Was a slave whose master ran away a fugitive? Might troops harbour negro children, or must they leave them to starve when they had destroyed all means of subsistence or driven off the rebel masters? Should commanders of regiments or battalions decide whether a black man fled from his master or the master from him? How were the free-born to be distinguished?' These were the questions with which General Butler perplexed the Administration.

On one thing Lincoln was determined, that no precipitate action should be taken that would make it impossible for the loyalists of the Border States like Missouri and Kentucky to stand in defence of the Union. This caused him to be misunderstood and his actions to be misrepresented. But steadily on, through good report and ill, he worked towards the ideals of justice and freedom.

Two months after the passing of the Crittenden resolution a crisis was precipitated by the action of General Fremont. As Commander of the Department of the West, he issued a proclamation stating that the property and effects of the rebels of Missouri were 'confiscated to the public use, and their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men.' Lincoln at once saw the danger of this proclamation. He knew the effect it would have upon the loyalists of the Border States. Without the slightest hesitation he called upon Fremont to modify it. Fremont refused, and the President exercised his authority and ordered this modification himself. He was at once bitterly attacked by the extreme anti-slavers. They could not understand his attitude. To many of them he stood as a recreant and apostate. Such misrepresentation cut him to the quick. With quiet dignity he bore this burden. His one determination was to save the Union, and his own feelings were as nothing compared to this. To-day we are able to see that this action of Lincoln accomplished two great purposes. It led the loyal inhabitants of the Border States to range themselves on the side of the Union, and at the same time, through the agitation of the adherents of Fremont, it created a stronger demand for the destruction of slavery.

On the question of the abolition of slavery the set of Lincoln's mind still remained strongly towards a gradual emancipation, with compensation for those owners dispossessed of their slaves. He believed that the State of Delaware, in which it was estimated that there were only some 1,800 slaves, was ready for such an experiment. In this he was mistaken. The State Legislature contemptuously refused his offer, and he was driven to seek some other way for the accomplishment of his purpose. On March 6, 1862, he sent a special message to the Senate in which he recommended the adoption of the following resolution: 'That the United States ought to co-operate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to such State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion to compensate for the inconveniences public and private produced by such change of system.'

This resolution passed the Senate, but it was completely nullified by the determined hostility of those who, while loyal to the Union were determined to defend the slave system. It was one of life's ironies that these men, who refused Lincoln's offer of compensated abolition, should afterwards have to endure the loss of their slaves without any compensation whatever.

The question of emancipation, however, was one of those questions which could not be prevented from thrusting itself on the heart and mind of the nation. On May 9, 1862, another military proclamation raised a storm of discussion and controversy. It was issued by General Hunter, and declared that 'slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three States, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves are therefore declared for ever free.' This proclamation was promptly condemned by Lincoln, and in this action he was undoubtedly right. If such an order were to be given, it should have come from the President and Administration, not from a General commanding in the field. Lincoln was quite right when he said, 'No commanding General shall do such a thing without consulting me.' 'I further make it known that whether it be competent for me, as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, to declare the slaves of any State or States free, and whether at any time, in any case, it shall have become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the Government to exercise such supposed power, are questions which, under my responsibility, I reserve to myself, and which I cannot feel justified in leaving to the decision of commanders in the field. These

are totally different questions from those of police regulations in armies and camps.'

Once again he was bitterly attacked, but unmoved and undaunted he continued on his way. He knew the temper and spirit of the men of the Border States. He saw that anything that weakened the sense of loyalty among those men in such a critical time would be fatal. Hence he was determined that no decisive action should be taken until the Government saw that the right moment had arrived. Wild and whirling words weighed nothing with him. His one determination was to save the Union, and everything was made to bear upon this one point.

Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, attacked him. Lincoln's letter in reply sets forth in a masterly manner his attitude in regard to the matter. He says, 'As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt. I would save the Union. I would save it in the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be to "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do

not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the coloured race I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so far as they shall appear to be true views. I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty, and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.'

It was this determination to save the Union which led Lincoln ultimately to issue the Edict of Emancipation. He had always held that the right to take this step lay with him as head of the Executive and Commander-in-Chief of the Army. There was probably in his mind the thought that he would have to look to the coloured popula-

tion for new drafts for the Army. Already some of the Northern States had organized coloured troops. In the dark and critical days of 1862 it seemed to him 'that the war had brought the country to the point at which slavery, the essential cause of the cleavage between the States, must be removed. The bringing to an end of the national responsibility for slavery would consolidate national opinion throughout the States of the North, and would also strengthen the hands of the friends of the Union in England, where the charge had repeatedly been made that the North was fighting not against slavery or for freedom of any kind but for domination.' He therefore prepared a scheme, called together his Cabinet Ministers, and presented it to them. It was most carefully considered and debated. Blair opposed the proclamation on the ground that it would mean the losing of the coming elections. The arguments and objections which were urged do not seem to have greatly impressed the mind of Lincoln. At last Seward spoke, and said :

'Mr. President, I approve the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. The depression of the public mind consequent upon our repeated reverses is so great that I fear the effect of so important a step. It may be viewed as

the last measure of an exhausted Government—a cry for help; the Government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the Government. My idea is that it would be considered our last shriek on the retreat. Now, while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue until you can give it to the country supported by military success instead of issuing it, as would be the case now, upon the greatest disasters of the war.'

This strong and sane appeal greatly impressed the President, and for the time he put the proclamation aside. But when it was seen that the battle of Antietam must result in the retreat of the Southern forces, he felt that the decisive moment had come. He therefore suddenly called his Cabinet together again on September 22, 1862.

When the members of the Cabinet met, Lincoln first read to them a chapter of Artemus Ward which had just appeared, entitled 'High-handed Outrage at Utica.' Stanton, the War Minister, was filled with vexation, regarding the procedure as utterly frivolous. This can hardly be wondered at. It must, however, be borne in mind that in moments when he was over-wrought Lincoln found in such literature the relief he needed. He then reminded them of the proclamation

he had presented to them some weeks before and said, 'When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made the promise to myself and'—here he hesitated a little—'to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfil that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you.'

The preliminary proclamation was issued on the following Monday. It declared that 'on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth, and for ever free; and the Executive Government of the United States, including the Military and Naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons or any of them in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.'

On January 1, 1863, the great Emancipa-

tion Decree was issued. Its essential paragraphs read as follows :

‘Now therefore I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war-measure for suppressing said rebellion do, on this first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the first day above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit : Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terra Bonne, La Fourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann and Nor-

folk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth) and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued. And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are and henceforward shall be free, and that the Executive Government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.'

It also contained another clause of immense importance: 'And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.'

Under this proclamation four million human beings passed from bondage into freedom. Before the end of the year 200,000 of these coloured people were enrolled in the Federal armies. They became a valuable factor in the victory of the North. 'A battle like that at Milliken's Bend, Mississippi, inconsiderable in regard to the numbers engaged, was of distinctive importance in showing what the black man was able and willing to do when brought under fire for the first time. A coloured regiment made up of men who only

a few weeks before had been plantation hands, had been left on a point of the river to be picked up by an expected transport. The regiment was attacked by a Confederate force of double or treble the number, the Southerners believing that there would be no difficulty in driving into the river this group of recent slaves. On the first volley, practically all of the officers (who were white) were struck down, and the loss with the troops was also very heavy. The negroes, who had but made a beginning with their education as soldiers, appeared, however, not to have learned anything about the conditions for surrender, and they simply fought on until no one was left standing. The percentage of loss to the numbers engaged was the heaviest of any action in the War. The Southerners, in their contempt for the possibility of negroes doing any real fighting, had in their rushing attack exposed themselves much, and had themselves suffered seriously. When in April, 1865, after the forcing back of Lee's lines, the hour came, so long waited for and so fiercely fought for, to take possession of Richmond, there was a certain poetic justice in allowing the negro division, commanded by General Weitzel, to head the column of advance.'

The constitutional extinction of slavery was yet to come. That only came to pass

after Lincoln fell beneath the attack of the assassin, but for all practical purposes slavery was lopped off from the national life when on January 1, 1863, the great Head of a great People issued his famous Decree of Emancipation.

XII

THE TURN OF THE TIDE

No human counsel hath devised, nor hath any mortal hand worked out these great things. They are the gracious gifts of the Most High God, who, while dealing with us in anger for our sins, hath nevertheless remembered mercy.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(From the Proclamation for the First regular Thanksgiving Day, Oct. 3, 1863.)

CHAPTER XII

THE TURN OF THE TIDE

THE turn of the tide in the fortunes of the North came in the year 1863. From a military standpoint the year opened in the midst of prevailing gloom, but when the year closed the issue of the war was no longer in doubt. Many believe that the Edict of Emancipation was the act which led the North from disaster to success. Be that as it may, it cannot be denied that the year of emancipation marked the turn of the tide for the men of the North.

In the west Grant had already commenced the series of operations which ultimately led to the capture of Vicksburg and the complete opening for navigation of the river Mississippi. Time and again Grant was foiled, but with a tenacity that brooked no denial he held on to his task, and ultimately success was achieved. The story of how this was accomplished forms one of the stirring episodes of the war. Finding that direct attack from the river on the strong defences of Vicksburg was not likely to succeed, and having failed in other ways to encircle them, Grant formu-

lated a plan which was in direct violation of the laws which are supposed to govern military movements. He instructed Admiral Porter, who was in command of the river flotilla, to sail past the Vicksburg defences, and by a circuitous route he marched his men about seventy miles down the western bank of the Mississippi. An attempt was then made to capture Grand Gulf, another Confederate stronghold. Once again failure was the result—these defences proving almost as strong as Vicksburg. Grant, though foiled once more, was not beaten. He gave orders to Porter to take his ships and transports farther down the river to Bruinsberg, to which place the Federal army was marched. Here they were able to cross the river. The following day Fort Gibson was captured after a stiff fight. The result of this victory was that the Grand Gulf defences were immediately evacuated.

The forces operating under Sherman joined Grant a few days later, and then the great Federal leader cut loose from the base and marched northwards with the object of attacking Vicksburg in the rear. It was a risky undertaking, but it proved a great success. Jackson, the capital of the State of Mississippi, was taken; the Confederate forces under Pemberton were defeated at Champion's Hill, with the loss of 24 guns,

2,195 prisoners, and perhaps an equal number of killed and wounded. Pemberton and the remains of his beaten army were driven within the defences of Vicksburg, and Grant laid siege to the Confederate stronghold. On July 4, 1863, 'Pemberton surrendered his army of 31,600 men, with 172 cannon and 60,000 muskets, while Grant's army marched into the captured citadel and supplied rations to the famished Confederate soldiers and citizens.' Five days later Port Hudson, the last remaining fortress on the Mississippi still left in the hands of the South, was surrendered to General Banks, and thus the whole of the river came under Union control. This success greatly cheered the heart of the North. It cut off from one-third to one-half of the Confederate territory, thereby preventing Jefferson Davis and his administration from obtaining from this vast western territory new recruits and the much needed provisions for the army. Lincoln summed up the feelings of the nation when he wrote: 'The signs look better. The Father of waters again goes unvexed to the sea.'

While these victories were being won on the Mississippi, stirring events had been taking place in Tennessee and the States contiguous to it. General Rosecrans, who had succeeded Buell in the command of the army operating in those States, had defeated,

as the year 1863 dawned, the Confederate army under Bragg. This battle of Murfreesborough was fought with great tenacity on both sides, the estimated losses being : Federal 13,249, Confederate 10,266.

For six months after the battle little was done. At last a peremptory order to advance was sent from Washington, and in the middle of August it was carried into effect. By a well-developed strategical scheme the left flank of the Confederate army was turned, and Bragg was compelled to evacuate Chattanooga. Under the idea that the Confederates were in full retreat Rosecrans foolishly scattered his detachments in pursuit. This gave General Bragg his opportunity, and without hesitation he seized it. On September 19 and 20 the battle of Chickamauga was fought, in which the Confederate or Southern forces were victorious. To the skill and courage of one man—Major-General Thomas—the North owed the fact that their army was not completely annihilated. With his own seven divisions and all the reserves he could gather he held on to the ridge which he had seized, and beat back every assault made by the victorious army. When night came Thomas still held the ridge, but knowing that his position would ultimately be untenable he began his retreat and succeeded in bringing his army within the defences of Chattanooga.

The Union Government felt that this disaster called for prompt and decisive action. Reinforcements were sent, and Grant was ordered to Chattanooga and placed in command of all the operations in the west. His 'forces, numbering 100,000 effectives, were made up from three different armies; the army of the Cumberland, formerly commanded by Rosecrans, now by Thomas; the army of the Tennessee under command of Sherman; two corps from the army of the Potomac under command of Hooker, lately brought with unusual celerity by rail from Virginia.'

On November 24 and 25 the important battle of Chattanooga was fought. Sherman was ordered to attack the right flank of the Confederate army and Hooker the left. On the afternoon of the 25th, in order to assist these movements, Grant ordered Thomas to make a direct advance and capture the rifle-pits which lay at the foot of a steep ridge some five hundred feet high. It was then that an event occurred for which no adequate explanation can be given. At a given signal the men swarmed over the top, raced across the intervening space in the face of withering fire, and carried the first line of the Confederate entrenchments. Their orders were to go no farther, but, governed by some mysterious impulse, they swept on and with

splendid audacity fought their way up the steep ridge until at last they broke over the crest of the ridge in six different places, capturing the batteries which almost to the last moment had been firing upon them. Twenty per cent. of the brave fellows who had participated in this glorious charge lay dead or wounded, but a great and momentous victory had been gained. Bragg and other Confederate generals barely escaped capture, and what was left of his army fell back in rapid and demoralized retreat.

For the army of the Potomac the year 'Sixty-three' opened very darkly. Mistrust and disagreement were rife in the ranks. On January 23 Burnside resigned, and General Hooker was appointed in his place. Hooker determined to march on Richmond, but at Chancellorsville he was badly defeated by Lee. The Confederate forces gained a great victory, but at the same time sustained a terrible loss in the death of Stonewall Jackson. This great and intrepid soldier, carried away with the excitement of success, rode a hundred yards ahead of his lines, coming under the fire of Federal and Confederate guns, and received wounds from which in a few days he died. This was an irreparable loss to the Secession movement, and no one felt it more than the leader of the South, Robert Lee. Having defeated Hooker at

Chancellorville, Lee determined once again to invade Pennsylvania, and at the beginning of June the forces under his command began their northward march. It was just at this critical juncture that Hooker asked to be relieved of his command. He had the suspicion that Halleck was unfriendly to him. Lincoln did his best to remove the estrangement, but finding this impossible, accepted his resignation and appointed General Meade in his stead. As Lee marched to the north Meade followed, placing his army in such a position that it protected Washington on the south-west, Baltimore on the east, and Philadelphia on the north-east. It was evident to all that soon the two armies would meet in deadly combat, but when and where had still to be disclosed. The secret was revealed when Lee, finding that his communications were threatened, turned abruptly to the right and gave orders to concentrate all his forces at Gettysburg. It was here that the greatest battle of the war was fought. On the first day of July the Union forces were driven back through the village of Gettysburg to a line of hills called Cemetery Ridge. On the second day of this titanic struggle the soldiers of the North beat back the attacks on Cemetery Ridge. The crisis came on July 3. Both armies had received reinforcements. In the early part

of the day the Union line regained ground lost on the night before. Then an ominous stillness fell upon the battlefield. Suddenly 15,000 Confederate veterans swept across the undulating valley that lay between the two lines. From the Federal field batteries and the rifles of the infantry a murderous fire burst upon them. It was more than humanity could bear. The assaulting forces wavered, and then broke, 'rolling like a spent wave down the slope in indiscriminate retreat.'

'General Lee, despair written in every line of his care-worn but noble face, leaned heavily upon his faithful horse and whispered in broken accents: "It is too bad. Oh, it is too bad." On the open field a mile in front of him, thousands of his grey-clad soldier boys lay dead. Pickett had made his immortal charge, and it had failed. The grey ranks had swept on like ocean waves that with even crests moved proudly forward, but they had struck the unyielding barriers of the Union defence on Cemetery Hill, and had been hurled back broken and spent. The high-water mark of the Rebellion had been reached, and the story of the Confederacy from that time forward is the story of an ebbing tide. Pickett, in that dark hour, wrote his sweetheart in Virginia: "Our foe believes, as we do, that our cause is lost."

‘Both Lee and Pickett prophetically saw in the gloom of defeat what a Southern poet, in the light which the years have brought, more clearly discerned :

‘In vain the Tennessean set
His breast against the bayonet ;
 In vain Virginia charged and raged,
 A tigress in her wrath uncaged,
Till all the hill was red and wet.

‘Above the bayonets mixed and crossed
Men saw a grey, gigantic ghost
 Receding through the battlecloud,
 And heard across the tempest loud
The death-cry of a nation lost.

‘The brave went down ! without disgrace
They leaped to ruin’s red embrace.
 They only heard Fame’s thunder wake,
 And saw the dazzling sunburst break
In smiles on Glory’s bloody face.

‘They fell, who lifted up a hand
And bade the sun in heaven to stand.
 They smote and fell, who set the bars
 Against the progress of the stars,
And stayed the march of motherland.’

When night fell upon the battlefield Lee beat a hasty retreat, ultimately reaching his old position south of the Rappahannock in Central Virginia. In the battle of Gettysburg the Confederate losses amounted to 36,000 men killed, wounded, and missing,

and the Federals 23,000. The day after the great victory Lincoln received Grant's message that Vicksburg had fallen.

Strange to say, it was just at this time, when the Northern forces were achieving success, that serious opposition to Lincoln and his policy manifested itself. The cause of this was the conscription law which had been passed on March 3, 1863. Lincoln had found what we as a nation discovered in our Great War with the Central Powers, that when the very existence of a nation is put to the arbitrament of the sword voluntary enlistment is not sufficient. He therefore turned to conscription. This led to acrimonious discussion and active hostility. In New York serious rioting took place. Mob law reigned in the city for four days. 'Negroes were beaten to death. A Coloured orphan asylum was sacked and set on fire.' This caused an intense feeling of indignation to spread through the bulk of the people of the North, and, the Government standing firm, the opposition to this measure died out. There is nothing more remarkable in the whole of Lincoln's career than the way in which what are termed the common people responded to his appeal. It is said that one day a Northern lad was tossing his cap into the air and shouting 'God bless Abe Lincoln,' when a Southern sympathizer standing near

said, 'My boy, you had better pray that God may bless the devil,' when without a moment's hesitation the boy replied, 'All right, Mister ; you pray for your boss and I'll pray for mine.' This was the spirit Lincoln created in the hearts of those who stood loyally by him in the great crisis of the nation he loved.

One of the reasons which led the common people to rally to his side was his tender humanity. This gave him a wonderful power of appeal. It won for him the affection and support of the soldiers of the North. There are many stories which illustrate this spirit of tender humanity. A young soldier from Vermont, named Owen, was found sleeping on sentry duty and sentenced to death. Before the sentence could be carried out the lad wrote to his father the following letter :

'DEAR FATHER,—When this reaches you, I shall be in eternity. At first it seemed awful to me, but I have thought about it so much now that it has no terror. They say they will not bind me, but that I may meet my death like a man. . . . You know I promised Jemmy Carr's mother I would look after her boy, and when he fell sick, I did all I could for him. He was not strong when he was ordered back to the ranks, and the day before *that* night, I carried all his luggage, besides my own, on our march. To-

ward night we went in on double quick, and though the luggage began to feel very heavy, everybody else was tired too; and as for Jemmy, if I had not lent him an arm now and then he would have dropped by the way. I was all tired out when I came into camp; and then it was Jemmy's turn to be sentry, and I would take his place; but I was too tired, father, I could not have kept awake if I had had a gun at my head. But I did not know it until—well, until it was too late. . . . Our good Colonel would save me if he could. He says—forgive him, father—he only did his duty. And don't lay my death against Jemmy. The poor boy is broken-hearted, and does nothing but beg and entreat to let him die in my stead. I can't bear to think of mother and sister. Comfort them, father! God help me! it is very hard to bear. Good-bye, father! God seems near and dear to me; not at all as if He wished me to perish for ever, but as if He felt sorry for His poor sinful, broken-hearted child, and would take me to Him and my Saviour in a better, better life! God bless you all!'

His sister took the letter and hastened to Washington. She soon obtained admission to Lincoln's presence. He read the letter, and tears were in his eyes as he looked up into the girl's face. Assuring the poor girl

that all would come right, he not only wrote out the pardon, but personally delivered it to the authorities. After the battle of Fredericksburg the young soldier was found among the dead. Next his heart lay the photograph of Lincoln, and beneath was written 'God bless President Lincoln.' It was because he moved among his countrymen as their familiar companion and friend that his appeals not only touched the imagination but moved the heart of the people and enabled him to take those steps which ultimately produced the turn of the tide in the fortunes of the North.

Truth-girt he stands serene and strong,
Where battle bugles blare,
And with the right subdues the wrong,
Divinely brave to dare.

Our common flesh and blood was he,
Earth-born, but heaven-sent,
To bring the people's jubilee
With love's disarmament ;

Almighty power had girded him
With undefeated right ;
And when our skies with war went dim,
God's chieftain won the fight.

C. C. Woods.

XIII
VICTORY

We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope that it will never end until that time.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

CHAPTER XIII

VICTORY

THE last phase of the Civil War forms a stirring and inspiring story, in which both North and South manifested the greatest heroism, but which ultimately culminated in victory for the North. Early in the year 1864 Lincoln felt that the time had at last come when his ideas of a unified command could be carried into effect. Hitherto his difficulty had been to find the man into whose hand this power could be put, but now this difficulty no longer existed. Grant had been found, and he had proved himself to be a man who did things. He had graduated in the Military School at West Point and served with distinction in the Mexican War. He retired from the Army as a full captain in 1854. The next few years of his life were not such as to reflect any credit upon him, but on the outbreak of civil war he pulled himself together and offered his services to his country. As we have already seen, his career since his return to the Army had been one of steady and continued success. Of course he had his detractors. At times he was denounced as incompetent ; as callous,

and careless of the life of his men. At other times he was charged with having yielded once more to the seductions of alcoholic drink. On one occasion it was reported to Lincoln that he was too fond of whisky, when the President humorously replied, 'Do you know what brand of whisky he drinks, for I should like to send a few cases to some other Generals.' This story, though strikingly *Lincolnesque*, is held by many to be apocryphal.

The true estimate of Grant shows us that 'he was a man of simple character, truthful, modest, and kind.' It may be admitted that he did not reach the high level of military genius that Lee exhibited; but nevertheless he was a great leader of men, and possessed that spirit of indomitable courage, and tenacity of purpose, without which success cannot be achieved.

Such was the man whom Lincoln called to Washington in March, 1864. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General, and appointed to the command of all the armies of the United States. The campaign against Richmond was placed under his special direction. He at once appointed Sherman to the command of the armies of the west, and turned his attention to the position as it unfolded itself in Virginia. 'The underlying idea of Grant's strategy was

the continuous and concurrent employment of the maximum of force against the Confederacy—continual battle, continual slaughter, till the will of his adversary was broken. He saw clearly that no manœuvring and no capture of positions could end the war. His great objective was the destruction of the armed forces of the enemy.'

By the beginning of May he was ready to move, and on the fourth of that month the advance began. The order which he had previously given to General Meade, who commanded the army of the Potomac, was brief, but to the point. 'Lee's army will be your objective point. Wherever Lee goes, there you will go also.' On May 4 Grant crossed the Rapidan, and the following day his entire army was safely across the stream. The battles of the Wilderness which followed were sternly contested, both armies losing heavily. The net result of the Wilderness conflict was the gradual pressing back of the Southern forces. At Spotsylvania Grant hurled a heavy assault against the entrenched forces of Lee, and was repulsed. Two days later another attempt was made, and the fighting for the salient known as the 'bloody angle' was of the most desperate character. When ultimately the salient was captured by the Federals, they found that Lee had prepared other obstacles even more formid-

able than those which had entailed so great a loss of life. Realizing the hopelessness of capturing this stronghold Grant ordered an advance on the left with the intention of trying to cut Lee's communications with Richmond. Attempt after attempt was made, but with consummate skill Lee always contrived to interpose a barrier and block the way. 'The vigilance of Lee never failed, the confidence and aggressiveness of Grant never wavered or halted, while the pluck and endurance of both armies in marching, entrenching and fighting, responded to every thought and command of the leaders. It was war in its sternest form.'

Beaten in his attempt to make a flank movement, Grant determined on a frontal attack. After some preliminary attacks on the first two days of June the great assault was made on the third. The first rifle-pits were taken, but 4,000 veteran soldiers of the North lay on the field dead or wounded, and it became evident that to defeat the Southern army would necessitate some other method and means of attack. This had evidently been driven home to the heart of Grant, for in writing to Washington he says: 'I now find after more than thirty days of trial that the enemy deems it of the first importance to run no risks with the armies they now have. They are purely on the defensive,

behind breastworks, or feebly on the offensive immediately in front of them, and where, in case of repulse, they can instantly retire behind them. Without a greater sacrifice of human life than I am willing to make all cannot be accomplished that I had designed outside of the city ' [Richmond].

Before starting his campaign he had sent General Butler with 30,000 men to the James River, in order that he might seize City Point and if possible capture Petersburg. Butler's campaign failed in all points but one. He had seized and held City Point. Grant now determined to remove his army over the James River and effect a junction with Butler. This difficult operation was brilliantly performed. Petersburg was besieged, and Lee withdrew his army into the defences of Richmond.

The removal of the Federal Army to the James River uncovered to a certain extent the city of Washington, and placed it once more in danger from a Confederate raid. The Union forces operating in the Shenandoah Valley under Siegel had been defeated; Hunter, who succeeded him, had been compelled to withdraw towards the Ohio River, and the way was now open to General Early to push up the Shenandoah Valley and once more place Washington in peril. This was precisely what took place. Directly the

serious nature of the raid was realized troops were hurriedly dispatched from Grant's army, but Early was an easy first in the race for the city. Thus for the third time Washington was placed in a position of extreme danger. If the old Confederate General had immediately attacked, Washington must have fallen. Colonel Wisewell, who was in command of the defences of the city, placed every loyal man he could find on the picket line, giving them orders that they were not to save their ammunition, but that they were to blaze away on the slightest pretext. In this way the enemy was bluffed into believing that the reinforcements from Grant had arrived. The next morning the Confederates withdrew, and the city was saved. Dr. Putnam tells us that he afterwards met a 'Confederate lieutenant who had been on Early's staff, and who had lost an arm in this little campaign. He reported that when Early, on recrossing the Potomac, learned that he had had Washington in his grasp, and that the divisions marching to its relief did not arrive and could not have arrived for another twenty-four hours, he was about the maddest Early that the lieutenant had ever seen. And,' added the lieutenant, 'when Early was angry, the atmosphere became blue.'

In the west two minor operations preceded the important movement which led to the

capture of Atlanta. The Red River expedition under Banks proved a complete and costly failure, but General Sherman at Meridian succeeded in destroying about a hundred miles of the railroad system of Mississippi. In May Sherman was ready for his great advance. About 100,000 men and 254 guns were assembled at Chattanooga. The Confederate army, 50,000 strong, lay at Dalton under General Johnston. Sherman had the advantage of numbers; Johnston that of a defensive campaign. The advance started on the 5th of May. By continued pressure combined with flank movements Johnston was compelled to retire until at last he reached the defences of Atlanta. This retreat was most skilfully carried out by the Confederate leader, but Jefferson Davis and the members of his Government were most severe in their criticism. Their displeasure was manifested by relieving General Johnston of his command and appointing General Hood in his place. Hood at once took the offensive, and suffered a severe defeat. A sortie on July 28 led to another serious disaster. On September 1 Hood evacuated the city, and two days later Sherman was able to telegraph to Washington, 'Atlanta is ours, and fairly won.'

While these battles were being fought and won by the soldiers of the North, the country was called to pass through the throes of a

contested Presidential election. Four years before, Lincoln had been placed at the head of the national life by the vote of the people. The years in which he had filled the Presidential office had been years of tragic sorrow. A spirit of war-weariness had come over the people. Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, whose zeal and enthusiasm had proved so embarrassing to Lincoln's administration during the first years of the war, was now urging the President to receive certain Confederate agents, and to discuss with them full and complete powers for a peace. On every hand there seemed to be rising a spirit of hostility to Lincoln and his Government. It was freely stated that the war never could be won by military means, and the recognition of the Confederacy was urged. Luckily for America the reins of government had been placed in the hands of the strong, sane man whose career we have traced, and in the hour of trial he failed not. As he himself said, 'he was ready at any time to consider any proposal which embraced the restoration of peace, the integrity of the whole Union, and the abandonment of slavery.' More than this he had never demanded; less than this he determined never to accept.

At the end of August, 1864, the National Convention of the Democratic Party met at

Chicago to nominate its candidate for the Presidential office. It first carried the resolution 'That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States.'

Its next step was to nominate General McClellan as the Democratic candidate. McClellan accepted the position, but disavowed the resolution. He realized, what others saw very clearly, that an acceptance of the terms of that resolution would amount to a surrender of the contest and an acceptance of the Confederacy. The Republican Convention in its turn nominated Lincoln for re-election. It was just about this time that Lincoln placed before his Cabinet another call for 500,000 more men. Opposition was at once aroused, though no one questioned the need which existed. 'Mr. President,' said one, 'it will destroy your chance for the Presidency.' Lincoln's answer was characteristic of the man: 'Gentlemen, it matters

little whether I am elected President or no, but it matters everything as to whether the boys at the front are to be supported. I shall issue the call, and if I go down I will go down like the *Cumberland* with my colours flying.'

Lincoln did not go down under the measure, for on November 8 he was for the second time triumphantly placed in the high position of President of the United States. As the question of a negotiated peace had bulked so largely in the Presidential election, Lincoln determined to state the position once again in his Annual Message to Congress. This he did with that lucidity of which he was so great a master. 'The public purpose,' he said, 'to re-establish and maintain the national authority is unchanged, and, as we believe, unchangeable. The manner of continuing the effort remains to choose. On careful consideration of all the evidence accessible, it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union—precisely what we will not and cannot give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft-repeated. He does not attempt to deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves. He cannot voluntarily reaccept the Union; we cannot voluntarily yield it. Between him and us the issue is

distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue that can only be tried by war, and decided by victory. If we yield we are beaten; if the Southern people fail him, he is beaten. Either way, it would be the victory and defeat following war. What is true, however, of him who heads the insurgent cause is not necessarily true of those who follow. Although he cannot reaccept the Union, they can. Some of them, we know, already desire peace and reunion. The number of such may increase. They can, at any moment, have peace simply by laying down their arms, and submitting to the national authority under the Constitution.'

Lincoln was right: the issue 'could only be tried by war, and decided by victory.' The hour of that decision was fast approaching.

With deadly persistency Grant pressed the siege of Richmond and Petersburg. The defences of these cities stretched for a distance of about forty miles, extending in a circle from five miles north-west of Richmond to seven miles south-west of Petersburg. Grant's aim was to cut off the Confederate supplies so as to compel the evacuation or surrender of these two strongholds. In the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan, who was undoubtedly the finest cavalry division officer in the Union armies, was placed in command of the newly-formed army, and ordered to

destroy all provisions, forage, and stock, so that 'nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return.' This order was duly obeyed, several battles were fought, and 'Early' was sent whirling up the Shenandoah Valley. By Sheridan's prompt and decisive action this gateway, which had been utilised for several invasions of the North, was closed, and the Shenandoah Valley eliminated as a serious factor in the war.

After the capture of Atlanta, Sherman in the west formulated a scheme fraught with the gravest issues. Briefly put, it was to divide his army into two parts; the first part, under General George H. Thomas, was to defend Tennessee, while the other part, under his own command, should take the offensive, march to the sea, and thus 'make the interior of Georgia feel the weight of war.' As this meant the abandonment of Sherman's communications there need be little wonder that Grant hesitated to give his consent to the scheme. On November 2 permission was given, and Sherman made his final preparations for his famous march to the sea. Thomas, who was at Nashville, waiting reinforcements, had placed two army corps under General Schofield at Pulaski. By a swift march General Hood attempted to cut off Schofield and his forces from the main army under Thomas. This effort, how-

ever, was not successful, and at Franklin, on the Harpeth River, Schofield inflicted on Hood a great and costly defeat. When General Thomas was informed of what had taken place at Franklin, he promptly ordered Schofield to retire on Nashville. He was followed by Hood, whose forces formed an entrenched line of battle before that city. Grant, realizing the dangerous position in which Hood had placed himself, sent orders to Thomas to attack, but not until all his preparations were completed did he obey the orders he had received. On December 15 he delivered a smashing attack on the Confederate Army, and on the 16th 'the whole Confederate left was crushed in like an egg-shell.' Hood himself tells us 'that his line broke at all points,' and he 'beheld, for the first and only time, a Confederate Army abandon the field in confusion. So complete was the defeat that the army 'disappeared as an organized body.'

It was on November 15 that Sherman started on his famous march. 'The day was fine, men and officers in high spirits, the regiments singing the inspiring melody of 'John Brown's Body' with a fervour and confidence that made the 'Glory Hallelujah' of the chorus ring out more like a religious anthem than a military march.' The very audacity of the movement helped to achieve

success. By December 10 he had reached the outer defences of Savannah, and on the 23rd he telegraphed to Lincoln, 'I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah with one hundred and fifty heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton.'

At Savannah Sherman received an order from Grant to fortify that city, and to transport by sea the forces under his command and effect a junction with the main army before Richmond. This was not at all to the liking of Sherman, who desired to repeat his march to the sea on a larger scale and to strike northwards through South and North Carolina. In a communication to Grant in which he pleaded for this scheme he said, 'The game is then up with Lee unless he comes out of Richmond, avoids you, and fights me, in which case I should reckon on your being on his heels. If you feel confident that you can whip Lee outside of his entrenchments, I feel equally confident that I can handle him in the open country.'

Grant gave his consent, and on February 1, 1865, Sherman started with a picked army of 60,000 men, on his third great march. It has been said that 'compared with the new task the march to the sea had been a pleasant autumn excursion.' Great as the task was, Sherman's men were capable of performing

it. In mid-winter they marched 425 miles in fifty days, 'crossed five navigable rivers, occupied three important cities, and ruined the whole railroad system of South Carolina.' On the 23rd of March Sherman led his forces into Goldsborough and effected a junction with an army which had been sent there for that purpose. Thus were brought to a triumphant close the three great marches of Sherman, which will ever stand out as unique records in the annals of military warfare.

The Southern Confederacy was now tottering to its fall. Friends of the South made frantic efforts to establish negotiations between the two contending powers. These all proved abortive, for Lincoln was as adamant in regard to the laying down of arms and the recognition of the Union. Lee had proposed to Grant that they should meet, 'with the hope that upon an interchange of views it may be found practicable to submit the subjects of controversy between the belligerents to a military convention.' When this was forwarded to the President, he sat down and wrote the reply, which was sent by the Secretary of War :

'The President directs me to say that he wishes you to have no conference with General Lee, unless it be for capitulation of General Lee's army, or on some minor or purely military matter. He instructs me to

say that you are not to decide, discuss, or confer upon any political questions. Such questions the President holds in his own hands, and will submit them to no military conferences or conventions. Meanwhile you are to press to the utmost your military advantages.'

The closing scene in this terrible drama came at the close of March and beginning of April. On Sunday, April 2, after days of bitter fighting, Jefferson Davis, while listening to the sermon in St. Paul's Church at Richmond, received General Lee's wire: 'My lines are broken in three places. Richmond must be evacuated this evening.' One last desperate attempt to save the situation was made by General Lee. From Petersburg he made a retreat of fifty miles to Appomattox, fighting all the way. Grant's losses in this retreat amounted to 10,000 men, while the Confederate loss was twice that number, not including, of course, the final surrender. Had Lee succeeded in extricating the broken remnant of his army it would only have been a prolongation of the agony. But he did not and could not succeed. Grant and Sheridan were too close on his heels, and on April 9 the end came. The scene in the little farmhouse at Appomattox, where the two commanders met, can never be forgotten. Lee in the full Confederate uniform

of a Lieutenant-General; Grant in the uniform of a private soldier with the shoulder-straps of a Lieutenant-General and his trousers tucked in his top boots, arranged the terms of surrender. The starving and Confederate troops were to be fed, officers to retain their side arms, horses, and baggage, and every private soldier who claimed a horse or mule was permitted to ride him home to do the summer ploughing. The arrangements completed, 'General Lee turns, mounts his old horse Traveller, a valued comrade, and rides slowly through the ranks first of the blue and then of the grey. Every hat came off from the men in blue as an expression of respect to a great soldier and a true gentleman, while from the ranks in grey there was one great sob of passionate grief, and finally, almost for the first time in Lee's army, a breaking of discipline as the men crowded forward to get a closer look at, or possibly a grasp of the hand of, the great leader who had fought and failed, but whose fighting and whose failure had been so magnificent.'

Hurt was the Nation with a mighty wound,
And all her ways were filled with clam'rous sound,
Wailed loud the South with unremitting grief,
And wept the North that could not find relief.
Then madness joined its hardest tone to strife :
A minor note swelled in the song of life
Till, stirring with the love that filled his breast,
But still, unflinching at the right's behest
Grave Lincoln came, strong-handed, from afar,—
The mighty Homer of the lyre of war !
'Twas he who bade the raging tempest cease,
Wrenched from his strings the harmony of peace,
Muted the strings that made the discord,—Wrong,
And gave his spirit up in thund'rous song.
O, mighty Master of the mighty lyre !
Earth heard and trembled at thy strains of fire :
Earth learned of thee what Heaven already knew,
And wrote thee down among her treasured few !

PAUL LAURENCE DUNBAR.

XIV

MARTYRDOM

And so they buried Lincoln ? Strange and vain !
Has any creature thought of Lincoln hid
In any vault, 'neath any coffin-lid,
In all the years since that wild spring of pain ?
'Tis false,—he never in the grave hath lain,
You could not bury him although you slid
Upon his clay the Cheops pyramid
Or heaped it with the Rocky Mountain chain.
They slew themselves ; they but set Lincoln free.
In all the earth his great heart beats as strong,
Shall beat while pulses throb to chivalry
And burn with hate of tyranny and wrong,
Whoever will may find him, anywhere
Save in the tomb. Not there—he is not there.

JAMES T. MCKAY.

CHAPTER XIV

MARTYRDOM

THE surrender of Lee at Appomattox was virtually the end of the Civil War. It is true that General Johnston, with his army of 90,000 men, did not surrender until April 26, General Taylor with 42,293 on May 8, and General Kirby Smith with 17,686 men on May 26, but in reality the secession of the South came to an end when the knightly and chivalrous Lee made his surrender to General Grant at Appomattox.

The Civil War at an end, Lincoln turned his thoughts and attention to the serious question of reconstruction. No one realized more keenly than he the difficult problems which had to be faced. The one thing he desired to prevent was excessive friction between the conquered and the conquerors. With the magnanimity which was so characteristic of him, he 'believed that a policy of amnesty with a prompt return to civil government would be far more likely to secure co-operation from the defeated insurgents than a continuance of war methods.' These were the lines along which he deter-

mined to move in the rebuilding of the life of the nation. There can be but little doubt that if his moderating and unifying influence had not been so suddenly cut off, many mistakes would have been avoided and the recovery of the nation more swiftly realized. The tragedy of the situation is to be seen in the fact that the one man who could and would have saved the South from bitter humiliation was, by the hand of a Southerner, foully assassinated.

Friday, April 14, was observed as a holiday by the loyalists. It was the anniversary of the evacuation of Fort Sumter four years before. Inside that battered fortress a great celebration was held that day, for General Robert Anderson raised once again the identical flag which in 1861 he had been compelled to haul down. The people of the North were in their happiest mood; bright was their sky, soon, alas! to be overclouded. Few dreamt of the tragedy shortly to be enacted. The comedy of 'Our American Cousin' had been announced for Ford's Theatre, Washington, and the President, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and two young friends, was present. At twenty minutes to nine they entered the theatre, receiving a great ovation from the audience. About ten o'clock, while Lincoln was absorbed in the play, a man stealthily entered the

door at the back of the stage-box, put a pistol to the President's head, and fired. The sharp crack of the pistol startled the audience. For a moment many thought it was part of the play, but in a second they were undeceived. Mrs. Lincoln's shriek of agony as she saw her husband fall rang like a death-knell through the house. At the same moment a man, booted and spurred, leapt from the President's box to the stage shouting 'Sic semper tyrannis.' Then brandishing a dagger he cried, 'The South is avenged,' and disappeared. For a moment the audience was paralysed. Then a hoarse voice cried out 'John Wilkes Booth.' A scene of indescribable confusion followed, and in the midst of this confusion Booth, whose plans had been carefully laid, and whose confederates were ready with their help, escaped. Soon, however, the emissaries of Justice were upon his track, and in an outhouse belonging to a Virginian farmer the miscreant met the death the heinousness of his crime so richly merited.

The unconscious form of the President was borne to a house across the street. 'Not a ray of hope,' was the medical testimony. Such a night of sorrow had never been experienced before in Washington. The weary hours dragged slowly along. At twenty-two minutes past seven on the following morning the bravest heart of that

time ceased to beat, and the tired, wearied soul of the martyred President passed into the presence of the Infinite and Eternal Good. He had brought the barque of State safely to land, but he himself lay stricken to death upon the deck. Walt Whitman never touched a deeper chord of pathos than when from the depths of his own heart's agony he penned those poignant lines—

O Captain ! my Captain ! our fearful trip is done,
The ship has weathered every rack, the prize we sought
is won,

The port is near, the bells I hear, the people all exulting,
While follow eyes the steady keel, the vessel grim and
daring.

But O heart ! heart ! heart !
O the bleeding drops of red
Where on the deck my Captain lies
Fallen cold and dead. -

O Captain ! my Captain ! rise up and hear the bells ;
Rise up—for you the flag is flung—for you the bugle
trills,

For you the bouquets and ribboned wreaths ; for you
the shores a-crowding,

For you they call, the swaying mass, their eager faces
turning ;

Here Captain ! dear father !
This arm beneath your head !
It is some dream that on the deck
You've fallen cold and dead.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are pale and
still,

My father does not feel my arm, he has no pulse nor
will ;

The ship is anchored safe and sound, its voyage
closed and done,

From fearful trip the victor ship comes in with
object won ;

Exult, O shores, and ring, O bells !

But I with mournful tread

Walk the deck my Captain lies,

Fallen cold and dead.

When the news of the assassination of the President rang through the North the heart of the people was deeply and profoundly moved. The soldiers at the front mourned over the loss of one who had been to them a father indeed. To the coloured population it came as a stunning blow. With marvellous rapidity and in ways that white men could not trace, the news spread among those who had been freed from the bondage of slavery that their great liberator and friend had been done to death. In his fascinating volume Dr. Putnam says :

‘ I happened myself on the day of those sad tidings to be with my division in a little village, just outside of Goldsborough, North Carolina. We had no telegraphic communication with the North, but were accustomed to receive dispatches about noon each day, carried across the swamps from a station through which connexion was made with Wilmington and the North. In the course of the morning I had gone to the shanty of

an old darky, whom I had come to know during the days of our sojourn, for the purpose of getting a shave. The old fellow took up his razor, put it down again and then again lifted it up, but his arm was shaking, and I saw that he was so agitated that he was not fitted for the task. "Massa," he said, "I can't shave yer this morning." "What is the matter?" I inquired. "Well," he replied, "somethin's happened to Massa Linkum." "Why!" said I, "nothing has happened to Lincoln. I know what there is to be known. What are you talking about?" "Well!" the old man replied with a half sob, "we coloured folk—we get news or we get half news sooner than you-uns. I dun know jes' what it is, but somethin' has gone wrong with Massa Linkum." I could get nothing more out of the old man, but I was sufficiently anxious to make my way to division head quarters to see if there was any news in advance of the arrival of the regular courier. The coloured folk were standing in little groups along the village street, murmuring to each other or waiting with anxious faces for the bad news that they were sure was coming. I found the brigade adjutant and those with him were puzzled, like myself, at the troubled minds of the darkies, but still sceptical as to the possibility of any information having reached

them which was not known through the regular channels.

At noon the courier made his appearance, riding by the wood lane across the fields; and the instant he was seen we all realized that there was bad news. The man was hurrying his pony and yet seemed to be very unwilling to reach the lines where his report must be made. In this instance (as was, of course, not usually the case) the courier knew what was in his dispatches. The division adjutant stepped out on the porch of the head quarters with the paper in his hand, but he broke down before he could begin to read. The division commander took the word and was able simply to announce: "Lincoln is dead." The word "President" was not necessary, and he sought, in fact, for the shortest word.

'I never before had found myself in a mass of men overcome with emotion. Ten thousand soldiers were sobbing together. No survivor of the group can recall the sadness of that morning without again being touched by the wave of emotion which broke down the reserve and control of these war-worn veterans on learning that their great captain was dead.'

Huge crowds gathered in the great cities threatening death to all rebels. In New York 50,000 men were in the streets filled

with the frenzy of excitement. A foolish fellow shouted, 'It served him right. Lincoln ought to have been shot years ago.' The words had hardly been uttered before he was lying dead on the roadway. The crowd surged towards the offices of a notoriously disloyal paper. A bloody scene seemed imminent when out upon the City Hall the form of a well-built man was seen. His voice rang like a trumpet-call as he cried : 'Fellow citizens ! Clouds and darkness are around about Him. His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds of the sky. Justice and judgement are the habitations of His throne. Fellow citizens ! God reigns, and the Government at Washington still lives.'

The effect was magical. The raging population subsided into peace. The speaker was General Garfield. It was a strange coincidence that he too, as the President of the same great people, should a few years later fall beneath the assassin's attack.

'On the 21st of April the funeral train left Washington, and for two thousand miles passed between two lines of grief-stricken people. Day and night, in sunshine and shadow, as the train sped on with its precious burden the silent watchers could be seen waiting for the sad procession to pass. In the larger cities the coffin was carried from one end to the other by the chief citizens,

and then again sent on its way to Lincoln's home.'

Away in the old home at Springfield, the place of his earlier and perhaps happier memories, the sweetest, wisest soul of his time was laid to rest. Buried with him were the remains of his own boy, whose death had made the dark days of 'Sixty-two' seem darker.

It is no exaggeration to assert that the sorrow of a whole nation found vent when the remains of Lincoln were laid to rest in the quiet graveyard just outside Springfield. But amidst the sorrow that pierced men's hearts that day there was realized the sense of victory and triumph. Lincoln was dead, but he had accomplished his great work and saved the nation. The tired heart had ceased to beat, but the slaves were free, and an entire people had been liberated. William Cullen Bryant put this in lines of great beauty :

O slow to smite ! O swift to spare !
Gentle and merciful and just,
Who in the fear of God didst bear
The sword of power—a nation's trust :

In sorrow by thy bier we stand,
Amid the awe that hushes all,
And speak the anguish of a land
That shook with horror at thy fall.

Thy task is done ! The slave is free !
We bear thee to an honoured grave,
Whose noblest monument shall be
The broken fetters of the slave.

Pure was thy life : its bloody close
Hath placed thee 'mid the sons of light,
Amongst the noble host of those
Who perished in the cause of right.

Russell Lowell has taught us to call him
'The first American,' and in the years to
come he will be known by this title. Spring-
ing from the people, he possessed those
characteristics which have built up the
mighty fabric of the American Common-
wealth. His life, with its wondrous charm
and grace, its sobriety and patience, self-
abnegation and sweetness, has come to be
the very prototype of a rising humanity.

We know him now : all narrow jealousies
Are silent ; and we see him as he moved,
How modest, kindly, all-accomplished, wise,
With what sublime repression of himself,
And in what limits and how tenderly !
Whose glory was redressing human wrongs,
Not making his high place the lawless perch
Of winged ambitions, nor a vantage-ground
For pleasure, but thro' all this tract of years
Wearing the white flower of a blameless life.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

- 1809. Lincoln born, February 12.
- 1820. Missouri Compromise.
- 1824. Works a ferry on Ohio River.
- 1830. Removes to Illinois.
- 1831. Volunteers in the Black Hawk War.
- 1834. Elected to State Legislature (November).
- 1842. Address on Temperance at Springfield,
February 22.
- 1842. Marries Miss Mary Todd, November 4.
- 1846. Elected to Congress (November).
- 1849. Retires into private life.
- 1854. Missouri Compromise repealed and Republican
Party formed.
- 1856. Defeat of Fremont by Buchanan.
- 1857. Dred Scott case.
- 1858. Lincoln-Douglas debate.
- 1859. John Brown's raid.
- 1860. Nominated for President, May 18.
- 1860. Elected President, November 6.
- 1860. Secession carried in South Carolina.
- 1861. Inaugurated President, March 4.
- 1861. Bombardment of Fort Sumter, April 12—14.
Civil War begins.
- 1862. Urges gradual emancipation of slaves, March 6.
- 1862. Issues proclamation of Emancipation.
- 1863. Edict of Emancipation signed, January 1.
- 1864. Elected second time as President, November 8.
- 1865. Inaugurated, March 4, and makes 'With malice
towards none' speech.
- 1865. Assassination of, April 14 (dies on 15th).
- 1865. Interred at Springfield, May 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is impossible to give a complete bibliography of the period covered by the life of Abraham Lincoln. Those who desire such a list will find it in Vol. VII. of the Cambridge Modern History. The reader will, however, find the following short list helpful:

'Abraham Lincoln—a History.' By J. G. Nicolay and John Hay. In ten vols. The Century Company, New York, and T. Fisher Unwin, London.

'The Works of Abraham Lincoln.' In eight vols. G. Putnam & Sons, London and New York.

'The Cambridge Modern History.' Vol. VII. Cambridge University Press.

'Abraham Lincoln.' By Lord Charnwood. Constable & Co., London.

'Latest Light on Abraham Lincoln.' By Dr. Ewin Chapman. Fleming H. Revell, London and New York.

'Abraham Lincoln.' By G. H. Putnam, Litt.D. Putnam & Sons, London and New York.

'Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.' By O. H. Carmichael. Abingdon Press, New York.

'Abraham Lincoln the Christian.' By W. J. Johnson. Abingdon Press, New York.

'Personal Memoirs of General Grant.' Century Company, New York.

'Life of Chaplain McCabe.' Jennings and Graham, Cincinnati.

INDEX

ABOLITION. *See* SLAVERY.

Adams, John Quincy, 42

Addresses: as candidate for State Parliament, 41; on Temperance, 62; on slavery (at New York), 104; inaugural as President, 106; at Gettysburgh, 107; at second inaugural, 108

Advocate, Lincoln as an, 39

Alabama, 129

Anderson, Major (afterwards General) Robert, 117, 119, 194

Antietam, battle of, 149

Anti-saloon League, 64

Appomattox, Lee's surrender at, 188

Armstrong, Jack, 37; son of, 39

Army of the Potomac, 120, 122, 162

Army of Virginia, 131

Atlanta, taken by Sherman, 179

BALTIMORE, riot at, 118

Beecher, Henry Ward, 87

Beauregard, Gen. C. V., 119, 120, 121, 136

Bible, Lincoln and the, 27, 57

Biography, important to a knowledge of history, 9

Black Hawk, 37, 41

Boone, Daniel, 18

Booth, John Wilkes, assassinates Lincoln, 195

Bragg, Gen. B., 160

Breckinridge, J. C., 113, 114

Brown, John, 86; martyrdom of, 91—95

Brown, Judge, 49

Bryant, William Cullen, 105, 201

Buchanan, James, 87, 116

Buell, Gen. D. C., 159

Bull Run, battle of (1st), 120

Burnside, Gen. A. E., 135, 162

Butler, Gen. B. F., 142, 177

CALHOUN, John C., 76, 115

Cass, Gen. L., 37, 38

Cavour, 10

Chattanooga, battle of, 161

Civil War: slavery the cause of, 73; begins, 117; events of 1862, 127—36; principal theatre of, 129; events of 1863, 157—69; last phase of, 173—89; end of, 193

Clary Grove Boys, 36, 37

Clay, Henry C., 40, 78, 103

Conscription, law of 1863, 166

Cotton famine in Lancashire, 129

Crittenden Resolution, the, 141

DAVIS, Judge David, 39

Davis, Jefferson, 13, 115, 129, 159, 179, 188

Decatur, Lincoln removes to, 35

Declaration of Independence, 73, 74

Douglas, Stephen, 66, 82, 86, 91, 114; debates with Lincoln, 89, 100

Drummond, Judge, 40

EARLY, Gen. John, 177, 178, 184
 Edwards, Ninian, 48
 Emancipation, 141—54; edict
 of, signed, 151
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 87, 95
 Euclid, Lincoln learns, 28

FARRAGUT, Admiral D. G., 119,
 136
 Federal Constitution, 75, 76
 Federal Convention of 1787, 75,
 76, 114
 Fredericksburg, battle of, 135
 Fremont, Gen. J. C., 87, 119,
 131, 143

GARFIELD, Gen. J. A., 200
 Garibaldi, 10
 Garrison, W. Lloyd, 79, 87
 Gettysburg, battle of, 163
 Giddings, Joshua R., 42
 Grant, Ulysses S., 135, 157, 161,
 176, 183; sketch of, 174;
 assumes chief command, *ib.*
 Greeley, Horace, 146, 180
 Gurley, Dr., 53

HALLECK, Gen. H. W., 131, 133,
 136, 163
 —Hanks, Dennis, 28
 Hanks, John, 35
 Hanks, Nancy, 20
 Hayne, R. Y., 75
 Holland, Dr., 20
 Hood, Gen. J. B., 179, 184, 185
 Hooker, Gen. Joseph, 161, 162,
 163
 Hunter, Gen. David, 145, 177

JACKSON, 'Stonewall,' 162
 Jefferson, Thomas, 74
 Johnston, Gen. J. E., 119, 120,
 121, 179, 193

KANSAS Nebraska Bill, 81, 85, 88
 91

LABOULAYE, M., 11
 Lee, Gen. Robert E., 119, 131,
 132, 162—5, 175—7, 187—9
 Lincoln, Abraham: a typical
 American, 10; greatest man
 of his time, 11; saviour of the
 U.S.A., 13; ancestry, 17;
 birth, 20; his tribute to his
 mother, 20; childhood home
 of, described, 21; education,
 27; attempts at poetry, 30;
 his vow against slavery, 36;
 removes to New Salem, 36;
 becomes a lawyer, 38; candi-
 date for State Parliament, 41;
 elected to Congress, 42; re-
 tires from public life, 43;
 courtship and marriage of,
 47—9; attitude to religion,
 51—8; return to public life,
 86; stands against Douglas,
 89; and John Brown, 95;
 oratory of, 99—110; lecture
 at New York, 104; elected
 President, 114; inaugurated,
 116; calls for 75,000 volun-
 teers, 118; forbearance of,
 with McClellan, 122; courage
 of, in the dark days of '62,
 127; and the slave problem,
 142—150; issues edict of
 emancipation, 151; and con-
 scription, 166; story of
 humanity of, 167; second
 election as President, 182;
 assassination of, 195; funeral
 of, 200

Lincoln, Mrs. (mother), 20, 27
 Lincoln, Mrs. (wife), 48, 50, 51,
 195
 Lincoln, Samuel (ancestor), 17
 Lincoln, Thomas (father), 18, 19,
 56

Lincoln, Willie (son), 57, 136
 Logan, Judge, 41
 Lowell, James Russell, 11, 40,
 202

MCCLELLAN, Gen. G. B., 119,
 130, 132—5, 181
 McDowall, Gen. Irvin, 120, 131
 Mazzini, 10
 Meade, Gen. G. G., 163, 175
 Merwin, Major J. B., 65, 68
 Methodist Episcopal Church, 79
 Mexican War, 43, 81
 Milliken's Bend, battle of, 152
 Milburn, Dr., 24
 Mirabeau, 10, 103
 Mississippi opened for navigation,
 157—9
 Missouri Compromise, 78, 79, 81
 Murfreesborough, battle of, 160

NAPOLEON, 10
 Nashville, battle of, 185
 New Salem, Lincoln removes to,
 36, 41
 Nicolay, J. G., 56, 93

OFFUTT, Denton, 35, 36
 Orator, Lincoln as an, 99—110
 Oregon, governorship of, 51

PARKER, Theodore, 87, 95
 Patterson, Gen. Robert, 120
 Patterson trial, the, 38
 Pemberton, Gen. J. C., 158, 159
 Pickett, Gen. G. E., 164
 Pioneer life, conditions of, 21—6
 Pioneer preachers, 23—6
 Pope, Gen. John, 131
 Porter, Admiral, 158
 Prayer, at the White House, 56
 Prohibition, 66. See TEMPER-
 ANCE.
 Putnam, Dr., 116, 178, 197

'RAIL-SPLITTER,' soubriquet of,
 35
 Religion, attitude to, 51—8
 Rosecrans, Gen. W. S., 159, 160,
 161
 Rutledge, Miss Anne, 47

SCHOFIELD, Gen. J. M., 184
 Scott, Dred, case of, 87, 90, 91
 Scott, Gen. W., 118, 120, 121
 Secession, legal right of, 75, 114 ;
 takes place, 114
 'Seven days battles,' 131
 Seward, W. H., 123, 148
 Sheridan, Gen. P. H., 183, 184
 Sherman, Gen. W. T., 158, 161,
 179 ; march through Georgia,
 184 ; through Carolina, 186—7
 Shiloh, battle of, 136
 Simpson, Bishop, 56
 Slave system, 77 ; South has-
 tened the downfall of, 141
 Slavery : Lincoln opposes exten-
 sion of, 42, 43 ; cause of Civil
 War, 73 ; and the Federal
 Constitution, 75, 76 ; in 1819,
 77 ; prohibited west of Missis-
 sippi, 78 ; development of
 anti-slavery ideas, 79, 87 ;
 limitation of, Lincoln's theory,
 95, 144 ; decree prohibiting
 151
 Slaves : sold by auction, 36 ;
 treated kindly in some families,
 79 ; problems regarding,
 raised by the war, 142 ; freed,
 enrolled in Federal armies,
 152 ; freed, and Lincoln's
 death, 197
 Speed, Joshua, 49
 Stanton, Edwin M., 124, 149
 State sovereignty, 75
 Stedman, E. C., 93
 Stevens, Alex. H., 117
 Stewart, Hon. J. T., 38
 Story-telling, Lincoln's power of,
 29, 30

Sumter, Fort, 117, 194

Superstitions of backwood life,
23

Swett, Leonard, 38, 63

Tax on drink, Lincoln opposes,
67

Temperance : Lincoln's address
at Springfield, 62 ; he declines
wine, 63 ; praises water, 64 ;
advocates abstinence, 64 ; Lin-
coln and the Anti-saloon
League, 64 ; legislative efforts,
65—8 ; a prohibitionist, 66

Thomas, Gen. G. H., 160, 161,
184

Thoreau, Henry D., 94

Todd, Miss Mary (Mrs. Lincoln
48

VICKSBURG, capture of, 157—9

Volunteer, Lincoln becomes a, 37

WALKER, David (negro), 80

Washington in danger, 131, 178

Webster, Daniel, 29, 75

Weitzel, Gen., 153

Whitman, Walt, 196

Whitney, Eli, 77

Wilderness, The, battles of, 175

Whittier, J. G., 94







